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MANDAN SOCIAL *and* CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

By

ALFRED W. BOWERS

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To My
Esteemed Teacher
GEORGE LUCIUS COLLIE

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PREFACE

185 The Mandan Indians are one of the famous agricultural tribes of the Missouri Valley region. When first visited by white traders during the early part of the eighteenth century, they lived in large fortified villages of permanent lodges overlooking the wooded bottomlands of the Missouri River where they planted their gardens. Evidence of their traditional southeastern origin is indicated by the many ancient village sites downstream from the mouth of Heart River in North Dakota. This evidence of downstream origin is further strengthened by cultural features of unquestionable early southeastern origin which survived in this northern region dominated by the buffalo-hunting economy.

And though the specialist will recognize numerous traits in the Mandan culture—peace and war chiefs, clans and moiety divisions, village squares and ceremonial centers, high villages dominating ceremonial activities, confederacies of the Mandan with other co-operating tribal and village groups, agricultural complexes of rites and practices, and many material culture traits—to be characteristic of the southeastern Mississippian cultures, these survivals were heavily overlain by recently borrowed traits more characteristically either Woodlands or Plains. These survivals of an earlier downstream culture, Woodlands traits reflected in certain ceremonial practices and pottery traits, and Plains traits reflected in the importance of the vision quest, buffalo-hunting and eagle-trapping economies, and large summer tribal ceremonials, combine to give the Mandan distinctive cultural characteristics.

Here on the banks of the Missouri River the aboriginal Mandan Indians lived in a rude but productive harmony with nature. Their villages were important trading centers where all the nomadic tribes of the Northern Plains met annually to trade for corn and other agricultural products. And the fur-trader found their villages strategically situated for bartering his goods

105 for furs. But Mandan sedentary life proved ill adapted to cope with the epidemics of smallpox and other contagious diseases that soon swept through their villages in successive waves until the tribe narrowly escaped extinction in 1837. During this period of rapidly reducing population, increased pressure from newly arrived and well-armed Siouan nomadic tribes hastened the downfall of the Mandan and all other agricultural village Indians living along the Missouri River.

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121 The Mandan were a conservative people; behavior was traditional and stemmed from institutional sources, the sacred rites, and ceremonies. If you ask an old Mandan to describe a commonplace custom or even a tool used in his daily activities, he will invariably first introduce data on its origin to explain its adoption and use by his people. Those possessing vast knowledge of these "origin myths" occupy high status positions in the village and tribe. Early in this study it became evident that no adequate understanding of Mandan cultural and social values was possible except in terms of these origin myths, most of which were inseparable parts of the various sacred-bundle complexes. In recording the data contained in this report, I encouraged informants to express in their own way meanings which customs had for them; and this report is an attempt to describe Mandan culture in terms of its meaning to the Mandan Indians.

121 So far as possible, considering overlapping of myths and bundle rites, I have attempted to bring the related sacred myth and descriptions of the rituals together in the same chapter. Though these sacred myths provide the student of Indian folklore with a new body of materials not heretofore available, I believe that their greatest value will be to provide a better understanding of Mandan habits, customs, ideologies, institutions, social values, and human controls. In describing Mandan culture, I have endeavored (1) to penetrate the veneer of European culture and to describe life as it was in aboriginal times and (2) to indicate recent cultural changes which have occurred under the impact of the fur trade and closer associations with the Hidatsa.

008 It is a privilege to express my thanks to the many persons who have helped me in the preparation of this book—all of

them far more than they know. The late Dr. Frank G. Logan provided funds through the Logan Museum of Beloit College for the field work, which was conducted according to plans outlined by Dr. George L. Collie, professor of anthropology at Beloit College. When the original field notes were transferred to the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole supervised the preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Karl Schmidt assisted with the Bibliography and footnotes. Mr. George F. Will and Mr. Russell Reid gave me access to their Mandan collections at the North Dakota Historical Society Museum, assisted me in interpreting historic accounts in terms of village sites, and provided the photographs of the fish traps reproduced in chapter viii. Dr. William Duncan Strong and Dr. Fred Eggan reviewed the manuscript and suggested several changes and additions, a number of which have been incorporated in this book. While making the field studies, Mr. and Mrs. Hal O. Simons, Sr., took me into their home at Elbowoods. Finally, I must express my great indebtedness to my wife—Gladys Monson Bowers—who worked with me in preparing the manuscript, typing the notes and the final report, and toning down the accounts of the buffalo-calling rites with their sex licenses to make them readable without embarrassment to mixed audiences.

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ALFRED W. BOWERS

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO
May 1950

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 101 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 161 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan 114 was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last 124 village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was 126 prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, 124 no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession 126 of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

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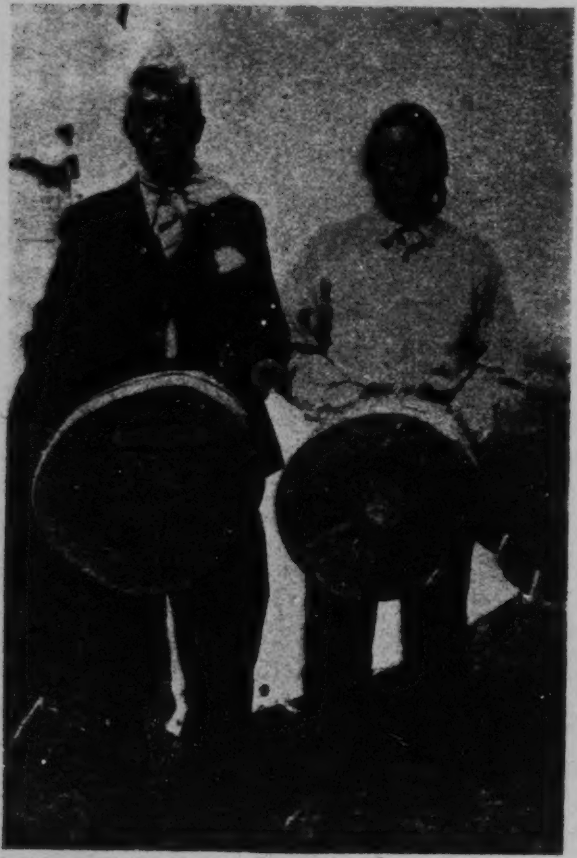

FIG. 1.—Sitting Crow and Crows Heart, Goose Society Singers.

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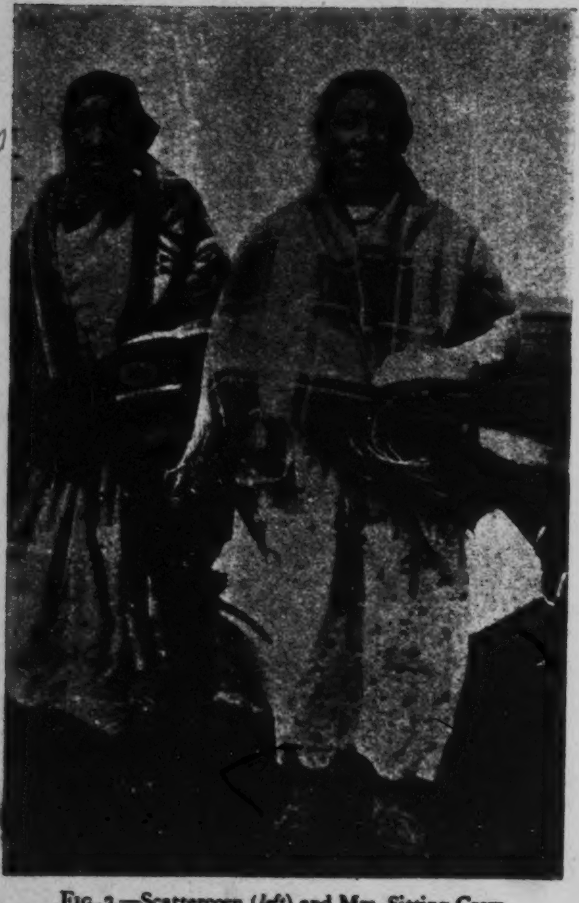

FIG. 2.—Scattercorn (*left*) and Mrs. Sitting Crow

124 126 served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

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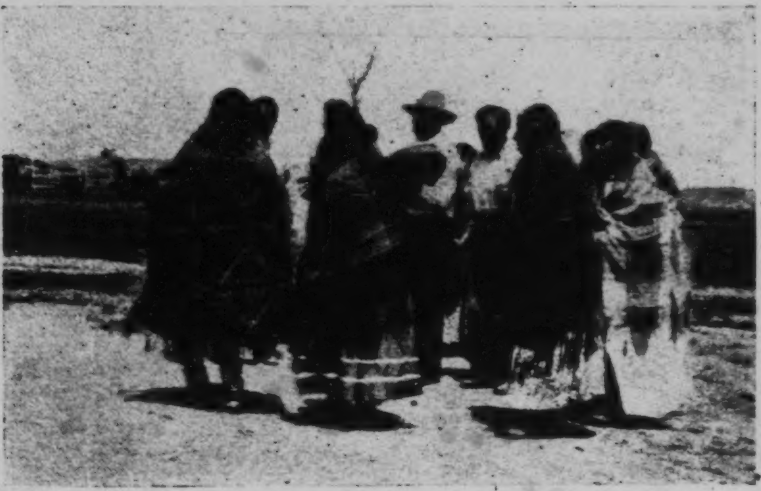

Fig. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

115 The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

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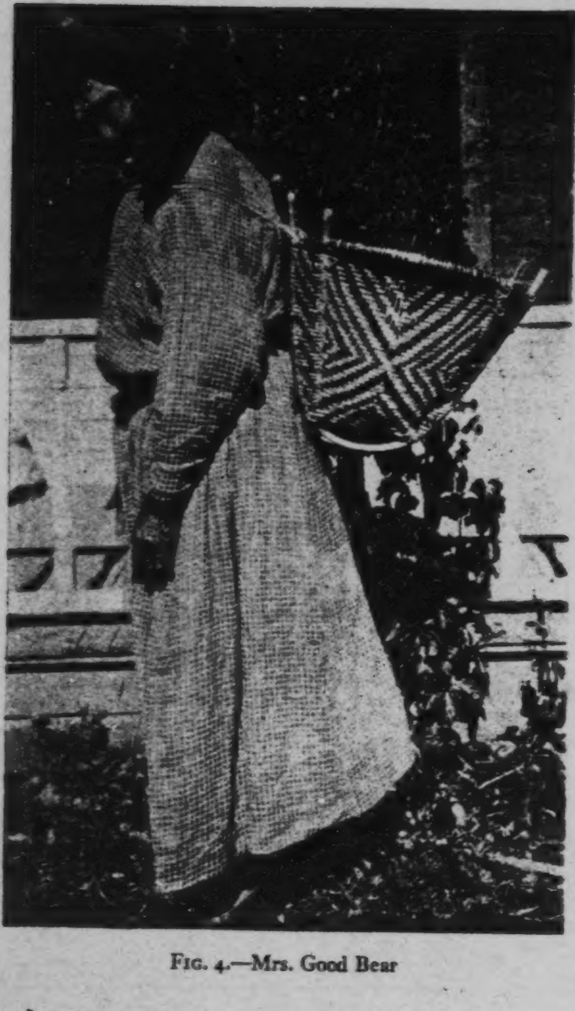

FIG. 4.—Mrs. Good Bear

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115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred 115 lore was encountered except in the recording of the People 124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some 114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

mar," except in those instances where native terms have been in long use in the literature.[1]

The spirants *s* and *c* are the equivalents of English *s* and *sh*, while velar *x* approximates *ch* in German *machen*. Mandan has seven pure oral and three nasalized vowels which vary in length. The qualities approximate these English words: *a* as in "father"; *ǫ* as in "over"; *u* as in "rule"; *i* as in "deep"; *e* as in "plate"; *E* as in "set"; ə as in unaccented *a* in "a dog." *ą*, *į*, and *ų* may be nasalized. Diphthongs are absent; vowels brought together either retain their individual qualities or are contracted to produce a long vowel. The flapped *r* occurs only in intervocalic position. Nasals do not appear in final position.

PHONOLOGY

	Voiceless Stop	Voiceless Fricative	Voiced	Nasal Voiced	Trills Voiced
Labial.....	*p*	....	*w*	*m*	....
Dental....	*t*	*s*	....	*d*	....
Alveolar...	....	*c*	....	*n*	*r*
Palatal....	*k*	....	....	....	....
Velar......	....	*x*	....	....	....
Glottal....	ɔ	...	....	....	....
		h			

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[1] Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX, No. 1, 1–43.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

185 175 177 UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

175 361 Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

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[1] Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

[2] *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known 175 361 explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of 175 131 the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

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[3] *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

[5] N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups.

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[6] H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

[7] Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 225-37.

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The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

> The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.
>
> On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.
>
> On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the wil-

> 175 lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two 131 traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

131 175 167 Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

> Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

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[9] Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

[10] *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

[11] John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 175
1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at 167
the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors 175
to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the
village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their 114
daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

[12] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

[13] *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

[14] *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

[15] O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

[16] Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

[17] Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

175 114 Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

172 114 Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

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[18] George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

[19] Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

[20] Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

[21] Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

[22] George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

[23] William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

[24] *Op. cit.*

dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa 172 and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. 114 He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history.

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by 172 Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological ex- 174 plorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in

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[25] George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

[26] *Op. cit.*

[27] George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

[28] Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

172 174 popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

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[29] George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified 172
rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until
the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas 174
emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the
southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between
the two groups increased when the southern group moved
northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to
tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand
River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods.
There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement
around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional
sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of
the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa 172
village groups, though generally showing close similarity in 171
traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences.
These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable 174
cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and
bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The
sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been
occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and
these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation.
With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the
Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River,
the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during
the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge
villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from
the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations
are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary
shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites,
both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with
the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as
belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also
found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these
groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery
at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate
that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz
site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels
show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

172 other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show
171 long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the
174 Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and
Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the
174 Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and pe-
101 riod of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semisubterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quar- 174
reling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther
upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the 101
"Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other
Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannon- 174
ball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of
Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The great- 191
est concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. 131
These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial or- 171
ganizations of the various village groups of Mandan and
Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and 796
native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance 428
patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x	....	....	....
Corn and Fertility	x	....	....	....
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x	....	....	....
Snow Owl	x	....	....	....
Robe bundles	x	....	....	....
Shell Robe	x	....	x	....
Knife clan bundle	....	....	x	....
Water-buster clan bundle	....	....	x	....
Earth-naming	....	x	....	x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)	....	x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo	....	x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x	....	x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf	....	x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*	....	x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River	....	x	x	x
Creek	x	....	x	....
Earth-lodge-making	x	....	x	....
Sacred Pot	x	....	....	x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

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[30] Bowers, *op. cit.*

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PART I

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Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when 621 leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a cer- 361 tain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of 311 the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

174 1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 619 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who 174
Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi 619
("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences 174
also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed
then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, 619
Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated 197
into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic.
Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were
recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan
words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized
by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic
group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa,
and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the
Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population
became too large for the further exploitation of the corn
grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according 619
to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. 361
In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The
Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart 131
River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of 174
Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River.
Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's
grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their
village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first 619
smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart
River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages 174
in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in
their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side
villages united into one village and moved northward, while
the west-side group united first into two villages and later into
one village and moved northward along the west bank of the
Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village. 174

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths, 173

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[1] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the
southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological
focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed
of one or more biological families related through the females.
[611] Theoretically, the household was held together by females
so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged
to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tendency
592 for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged
to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another
592 group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

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[2] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge 425
belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would 592
have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic 592
goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening
tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the 422
mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually.
The men owned their weapons used in warfare and
hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also
owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were
held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were 342
performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts
when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called
in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received
one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to 644
assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges
were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting
one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3]
As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite
moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the
seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household 423
had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members 224
of the household and were owned collectively. While the 462
men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught
in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating
and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times 226
many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been 462
used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly
catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages.
The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly
the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the
women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting
and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household 600

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[3] For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

621 554 571 There was considerable variability in the status of household groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 166 578 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will. Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but there are numerous references to groups transferring from one village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much 361 smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 342 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they 616 are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position 614 on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. [E44] The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established 614 simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living 773 in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and
mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
614 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he
616 would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan,
since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word
[424] *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had
been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old
men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem-
614 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of
431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and 614
make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the 431
rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan.

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to 616
regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while
the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the 582
Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved.

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of 614
the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which
also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and 421
sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn.

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was 614
the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. 736
During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went
through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who 888
were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it.

614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting [424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

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[4] The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

614

The permanent

name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan. [53]

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikĖna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral. 616 224 [582]

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the 621 622 623

621 leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to
622 co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were en-
623 titled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peacemaking discussions with neighboring tribes.

622 The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since ~~all~~ lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

622 A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of
537 which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

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[5] A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

622 537 to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

796 The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

554 796 626 The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

554 796 626 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedition under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 182 778 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

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[6] Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

Chapter II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

TERMINOLOGY[1]

THE Mandan have a Crow type of kinship system. Their 601
terminology is illustrated in Figures 5–8 and in Table 2. 621
By means of the extension of kinship terms employed for members of the biological family to clan and moiety affiliates, the entire tribal population was classified as relatives and was treated as such. In former times each village was politically independent except that the Nuptadi held certain tribal paraphernalia used during the Okipa, and the other villages looked to them for ceremonial assistance. Dialectic differences offered no handicap. The villages acted collectively when war threatened. Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal, exogamous, nontotemic clans grouped into moieties. Each clan was composed of one or more lineages which were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence and consisted of several families held together by females. Lodges, in theory, belonged to the females occupying the lodge and were a part of a property-holding complex consisting of the lodge, corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs and harnesses, mares and colts (geldings and stallions belonged to the men), gardens, and gardening equipment.

The structure, function, interdependence, and interrelations 000
of the various groups will be analyzed after the kinship has been analyzed. Where significant changes in the social structure occurred due to a change in population, both the older and the more recent system will be indicated.

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[1] An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule method was used after taking a census of the tribe by lodge units as of 1870. An attempt was made to get pertinent data about as many individuals and lodge groups as possible, and this was added to as the study of the ceremonial organization progressed. With the use of genealogical charts, attempt was made to determine the actual inheritance of bundles and rites as against native theory of inheritance.

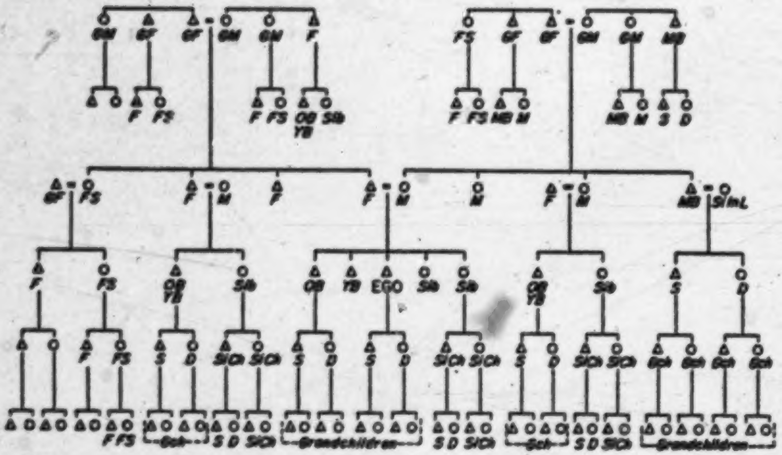
GM GF GF GM GM F
F FS F FS OB YB Sib
FS GF GF GM GM MB
F FS MB M MB M S D
GF FS F M F F M M F M MB SiInL
F FS OB YB Sib OB YB EGO Sib Sib OB YB Sib S D
F FS S D SiCh SiCh S D S D SiCh SiCh S D SiCh SiCh Gch Gch Gch Gch
F FS Gch S D SiCh Grandchildren S D SiCh Gch S D SiCh Grandchildren

Fig. 5.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = male. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

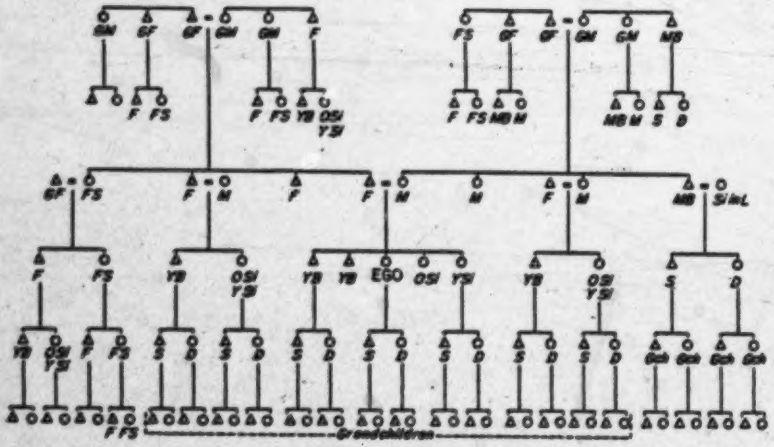
GM GF GF GM GM F
F FS F FS YB OSi YSi
FS GF GF GM GM MB
F FS MB M MB M S D
GF FS F M F F M M F M MB SiInL
F FS YB OSi YSi YB YB EGO OSi YSi YB OSi YSi S D
YB OSi YSi F FS S D S D S D S D S D S D S D Gch Gch Gch Gch
F FS Grandchildren

Fig. 6.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = female. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

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The classification of blood relatives is illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 (for the Mandan kinship terms refer to Table 2). The Mandan kinship system is of the "classificatory" type, since the father's brothers are classed with the father and the mother's sisters with the mother. In the grandparent's generation separate terms are used to designate grandfather and grandmother.

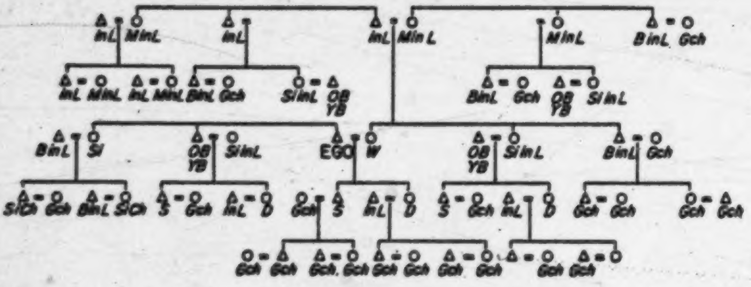

InL MInL InL InL MinL MInL BInL Gch
InL MInL InL MInL BInL Gch SInL OB YB BInL Gch OB YB SInL
BInL SI OB YB SInL EGO W OB YB SInL BInL Gch
SiCh Gch BInL SiCh S Gch InL D Gch S InL D S Gch InL D Gch Gch Gch Gch
Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch Gch

FIG. 7.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = male. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

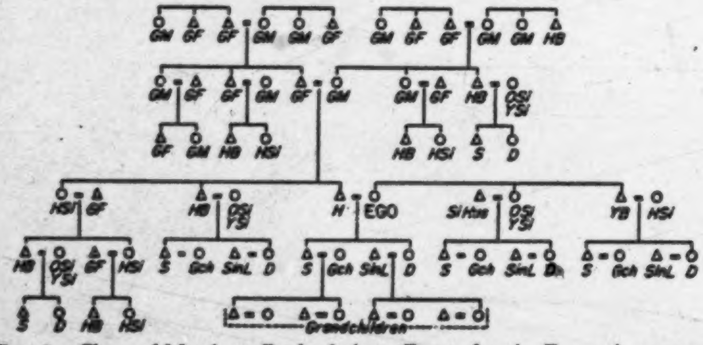

GM GF GF GM GM GF GM GF GF GM GM HB
GM GF GF GM GF GM GM GF HB OSi YSi
GF GM HB HSi HB HSi S D
HSi GF HB OSi YSi H EGO SiHsb OSi YSi YB HSi
HB OSi YSi GF HSi S Gch SInL D S Gch SInL D S Gch SInL D S Gch SInL D
S D HB HSi
Grandchildren

FIG. 8.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = female. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

Sisters of grandmothers are grandmothers and brothers of grandfathers are grandfathers. The paternal grandmother's brother is a "father," while the brother of the maternal grandmother is a "mother's brother." In the parental generation, the father's sister is designated by a special term *ptuminiks*, which is extended to include all her female descendants and all other females of her clan regardless of age if not occupying a position closer to the speaker; the husband of a father's sister is classified as a grandfather. There is a separate term for "mother's brother," and his wife is a sister-in-law. In ego's own generation siblings are distinguished according to age and sex. A male classifies his male siblings according to age and uses a single term for female siblings regardless of age. A female uses the same term for all male siblings that a male uses for younger male siblings. A female classifies her sisters according to age. Parallel cousins are treated as siblings; children of a "father's sister" are "fathers" and "father's sisters," while the children of a mother's brother are sons and daughters. In the children's generation a woman classifies her own sons with her sisters' and brothers' sons, and their daughters with her own daughters. A man classifies only his brothers' sons with his own sons and his daughters with his brothers' daughters, while classifying his sisters' children, both male and female, as "children of clan." In the grandchild generation, children of "sons" and "daughters" are "grandchildren"; sons of male "child of clan" are "sons"; daughters of

TABLE 2

Mandan Kinship Terms

na'E'	mother (M); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*mihu'rus* = my mother; *kohus'* = his mother; *kohu'nE* = her mother)
tatE'	father (F); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*tatE'Enə* = non-voc.)
mų'kas	older brother (OB); m.s.
mi'cų'ka	younger brother (YB); m.s.; all male siblings, w.s.
mirukE'	older sister (OSi) w.s. *konuk's* = her older sister
ptą'ka	younger sister (YSi) w.s. *kotą'ka* = her younger sister
ptami'hE	female sibling (Sib) m.s. *kotomi'hE* = his sister
naxis'	grandmother (GM) m.s., w.s.; voc.; *konu'xis* = his or her grandmother
tata'xis	grandfather (GF) m.s., w.s., voc.; *kota'xis* = his or her grandfather
miniks'	son (S) m.s., w.s., voc.; *minikE'* = my son; *koni'kE* = his or her son
mi'nuhą'kE	daughter (D) m.s., w.s.
ptawi'hąkE	grandchild (Gch) m.s., w.s.
ptu'hakE	sister's child; also sister's daughter's child (SiCh) m.s.
mų̃'hE	wife (W). *kų̃'hE* = his wife
mi'woro	husband (H)
misikE'	husband's brother (HB)
mo'waki	wife's brother or sister's husband (B in L) m.s.
ptųts'	son-in-law or father-in-law; m.s.; (in Law) m.s. *no'hąka* = son-in-law. w.s. m.s. non-voc.
ptus	husband's sister or brother's wife (HSi) w.s.
no'hąkamis'	brother's wife (Si in L) m.s.
pta'warato'dE	mother's brother (MB); m.s., w.s.
ptu'miniks	father's sister (FS); m.s., w.s.
ptu'hiniks	mother-in-law (M in L) non-voc. m.s.

a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

601 613 [606] marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

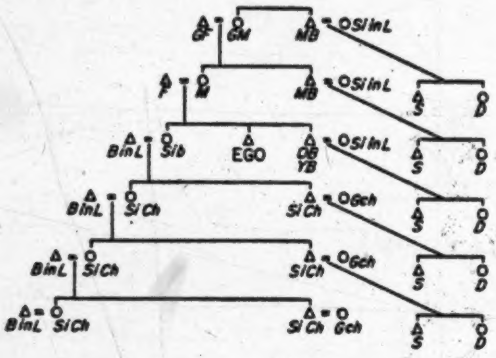
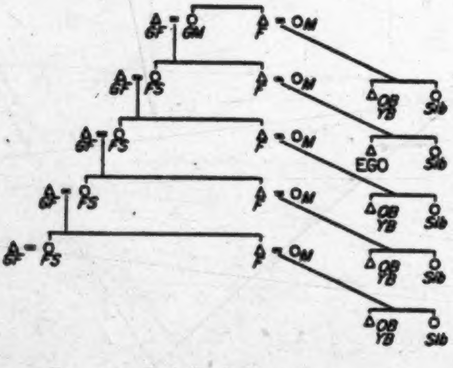

GF
GM
MB
OS/InL
F
M
MB
OS/InL
S
D
BInL
Sib
EGO
OB
YB
OS/InL
S
D
BInL
SICh
SICh
OGch
S
D
BInL
SICh
SICh
OGch
S
D
BInL
SICh
SICh
Gch
S
D

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male


GF
GM
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OM
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YB
Sib
GF
FS
F
OM
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YB
Sib
OB
YB
Sib

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

1

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since 601 individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a 613 closer relationship through marriage.

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; 613 they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

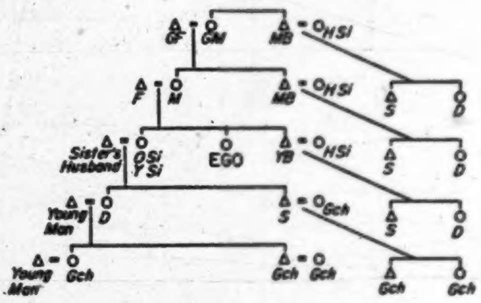
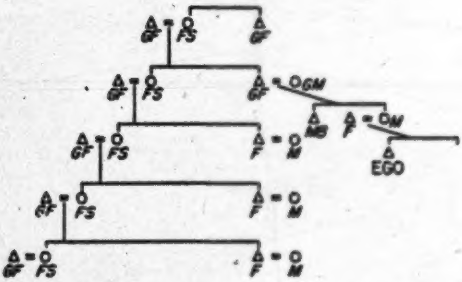

GF
GM
MB
HSI
F
M
MB
HSI
S
D
Sister's Husband
OSi
YSi
EGO
YB
HSI
S
D
Young Man
D
S
Gch
S
D
Young Man
Gch
Gch
Gch
Gch
Gch

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female


GF
FS
GF
GF
FS
GF
GM
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M
GF
FS
F
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EGO
GF
FS
F
M
GF
FS
F
M

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range 602 of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this 608 extension is important for an understanding of social integration. 597 The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. 614 A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son"

602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's
mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these 601 relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This 614 point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives 592 will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his 593 "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of 593 love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. 868 Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes 592 over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to [437] make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently 592 the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been 593 erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come 604 here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents [867] for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was con- 592
sidered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his 593
daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother.

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with 593
a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at 867
an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines.

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mų'hE*).—The Mandan have several 593
terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as 601

593 *mų'he* and others speak of her as *kų̀'hE*. An old man addresses an
601 old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and
462 wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the
581 prospective mates; rather the two households made the selec-
584 tion, and children were expected to obey their parents even to
596 the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

581 584 596

and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged. 587

Older brother–younger brother (*mų'kas–mi'cų'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions. 593 [867] [587]

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities. 592 593

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptą'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild resistance
593 when the girl's own household disapproved of the other
marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the
absence of mature males in their own household. The older
sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking
out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the
younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters
remained together through life, possessing a common husband.
They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the
oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were
several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the
older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females
were of their clan and closely related, helping the household
[584] with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a
husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that,
when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession
of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often
impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were
closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger
sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
592 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives
611 would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise
children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear,
there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each
other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan
household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge
property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the
mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cų'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters
played together when young, and there was a close bond of
affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being
alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities
separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his
mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest
in his sister and her household continued. He would bring
her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had
no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything 593 he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many [736] orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The 603 grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A [888] young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents
from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son"
and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hǫkE*).—The maternal
grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother
was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter
than her grandson. She would teach the granddaughter
868 the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she expected
601 payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected
to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The
mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an
occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority 604
was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the 592
household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority 613
when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get
around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's
brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable
authority over his sister's children. He would scold
them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the 604
same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education 869
and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation
of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He
would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and
would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons
that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan
was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with
him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's
sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was
assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some
young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary
to begin the instruction early in life so that several would
know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the
household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the 428
Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of 604
the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the
perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The
rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was:
mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother;
sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have
a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific
role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead
to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as
a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue
of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She
helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably
the one called upon to name a female child, supplying [553]
a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her
brother.

604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. [764] If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

604 601 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 603 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she inherited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household 606 through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This 603 was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'hąka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* 606 is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." 601 When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of pre- [583] ferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohąka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

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[2] Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

606 601 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

607 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5),[1] it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection existed between them as between father and son. 607

601 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

[1] [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

dressed as sister-in-law all her husband's sisters and those he 607
called female "child of the clan" as well as the wives of all those 601
she addressed as "brothers."

Brother-in-law–sister-in-law (*misikE'–no'hǫkamis'*).—A woman addressed as brother-in-law all those males whom her husband addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "son of the clan."

A man addressed as sister-in-law all those females married to one whom he addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "male child of the clan."

Chapter III

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

000 THERE are many occasions during the lifetime of a Mandan when the relatives have important duties and obligations. Since the behavior between various pairs and groups of relatives has been outlined, the writer proposes to follow an individual from birth to death in an attempt to indicate some of the more important events when relatives play a significant role. In Mandan society, living as they did in earth-lodge villages of closely assembled lodges, there were daily contacts between all the individuals of the village, but the closest contacts were between groups of close relatives. A complete account of a person's relationship with all the people of the village would be an account of Mandan culture to the extent that one village was independent of the other villages of the tribe. This study is designed merely as an introduction to such an account.

BIRTH AND NAMING

844 A woman preferred to give birth to a child in her mother's lodge. When the woman began her first labor, everyone was sent out of the lodge except the old women of the lodge. The lodge was darkened by closing the door and shutting off part of the smokehole. A robe was laid out on the floor near the bedposts where the woman could reach up and hold them. If labors were prolonged, the father's sister came and prepared a drink from one of the ceremonial plants contained in her brother's bundle in which she held rights. In extreme cases, a medicine man or woman of considerable eminence was called in.[1] The most popular bundles were those with the snake, bear, or mink; sacred rites were employed, but the older women supervised turning the child or straightening a leg if delivery was not normal.

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[1] For a firsthand account see Mrs. Good Bear's narrative in chap. v below.

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the pla- 844
centa and seeing that the child was properly greased and paint- 854
ed with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the
legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was
wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smoke-
hole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was
placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the winter-
time it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which
the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken [573]
from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child
was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time 553
the child was named. The parents selected the person who was 852
to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already
acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his
sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan
to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons
of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequent-
ly contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many oc-
casions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give
goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of
the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display
and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part 851
of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from 553
whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the
ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such
names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn
Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles.
Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Wom-
an, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the
Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a
horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's
clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some
article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a
name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Chil- 766
dren dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides
and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no
rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort 775 Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a 755 man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and 868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, 562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

back to the village. Economic training came largely from his 861
father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be 868
lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would 562
shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan.

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine 861
years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had 869
attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother 785
and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision."

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's 868
education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him 616
to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached.

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy 861
or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate 867
contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice.

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861
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861 that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set
562 of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible
602 for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

861 Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their
561 children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to be-
602 long to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having 861
conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a 561
boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning 602
in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society,
would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction 785
of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first insti- 881
tuted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the vil- 869
lages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was
of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy
reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected
to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to
drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted
under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; [787]
neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined [776]
by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

785 881 869 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit," the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bringing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 778 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred objects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on their supernatural experiences.

[785] 701 726 Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 593
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or 765
recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father 787
would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the 787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict 701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the 554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader 554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members 785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would 614 be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the 431 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be opposed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade 727
society, would accumulate robes and other property which were 554
given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were 785
expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because 614
they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war
leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who 431
by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful 727
war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's 554
lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a 785
representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed
and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he 431
was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

727 554 785 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was cele-
[553] brated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite 554
moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown 616
of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. 553
Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, 431
the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, 554
a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage 581
from the parents of some eligible young woman who had 424
not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important 885
point in a man's training and altered his relations materially 554
with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited 701
relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards
and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their
authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was
authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-
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[2] George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

tinguished man between whom there had been considerable 554
rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give 578
certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the 721
robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing
about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted 837
their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

554 578 721 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 763 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes.

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

554 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear
703 could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

Small children too young to remember their parents were
727 frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They
597 were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward
581 their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to
562 wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a
number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed
703 their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal
awards having social recognition and fall into two general
703 groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the
584 leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581
a social event involving the two households. Although young 584
men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the
relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would
watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing
the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her
husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without
a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds
for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial
bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of
keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter
was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581
families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778
families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. 425
They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens
and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the
group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating
at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556]
to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one
of their children. Families with important related bundles 581
endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778
important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796
lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained
in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles.
A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited
within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting
a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father.
It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along
better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the
Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism
through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of
the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit
the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and
because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents
of both households selected their children's mates. It can be
definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved
by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

581 778 796 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep the bundles and the associated ceremonics within their group.

584 The Mandan taught their children that they should marry by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

584 437 778 583 The method used by the most distinguished families was known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bundle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age when she should marry selected a young man who had a good reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the eldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 431 778 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 431 778 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collecting robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and

potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age- 585
grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and 431
the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying 778
the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdaches to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time.

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn 585
ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design 778
of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies.

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring 591
them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them.

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to 587
marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods.

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mu- 583
tual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided
to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl 591
did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to 428
marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens.

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was 592
subordinate to the other female members of the household 768
group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should
her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his 421
brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take

592 768 421 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 837 578 431 583 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and for- 586 837 578 583 get his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be 586
returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. 837
The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and 578
that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to
care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears 583
for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable 587
way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived
between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely
married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant
sharing a husband with women of a different clan and house-
hold. In the event of separation or death the children were pro- 000

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 These various accounts of types of marriage might be ana-
lyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant
556 situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women
to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that
males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A
similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard
all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men
562 would be even smaller. The women of the household played an
462 exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of
young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis. 582 [462]

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back. [578]

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge. 582

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan. 582-614

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe. 582-616

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children. 587

MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 554 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge. 554

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and 554 785

554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

554 554 785 789 Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 554 788 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found 224
conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped 554
into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a 788
buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many
hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black [203]
Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the
decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to 224
preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to
visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The [462]
women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would 224
stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader [222]
saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant,
the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All
would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the
party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, [561]
and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect
the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers
and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed 224
upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations 561
that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance 361
from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of
place to take them down and set them up in such a way that
the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side
of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through
to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household
was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to
set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by
household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last
in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee,
thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees
forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people 224
assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts
each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the
party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader
of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of
killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the
buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for
the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the
hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was
decided whether to move to another place or make provisions
for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the [561]
women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules
against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the 224
camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. 462
All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

554 This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success.

463 437 555 Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made.

437 421 425 Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or pai[illegible]igns appreciated by the
people of the village were highly [illegible]rded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in 555
warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry 887
out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the 555
storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the 538
stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One
paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat 424
the story after the informer until it was learned in complete 421
detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually asso- 773
ciated with any ceremony at the time this study was being
made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once 538
were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the 554
stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These 571
stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior
571 were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and
554 have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society, which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the
701 village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed 561
by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers 701
to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts [224]
they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred 561
things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters [837]
and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the [364]
dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. 888
The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in 603
making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies 888
which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle 561
age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White 562
Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

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[3] See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of 888
Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they 421
were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely 224
abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. 888
They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first 773
created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they 761
should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was 774
the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came [787] to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

775 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

775 766 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

000 When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives 763 were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to 764 attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's 602 request determined whether the body would be buried or placed 765 on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to [513] the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the 768 brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among 765 themselves. In return for this property, they were required to 602 go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried 768 sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no 602 sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grand- 614 mother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground. The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and
778 there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

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[4] See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were 765
gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the vil- 614
lage refuse or along the river and creek banks. 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or 765
were killed while away from the village was continued until the
Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one 778
died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles.

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on 764
the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the 177
dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed.

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PART II

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INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

796 177 FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

796 178 Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

[784] This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these 796
bundles must have originated in different villages because their
older people who were living when the tribe occupied two vil- 778
lages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. 124
They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: 796
each contained objects representing the characters and incidents
of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; 778
there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of 773
the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned 424
while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated 796
with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since in- 805
formants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is
highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divi- 221
sions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

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796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of incidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the 778
myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instruc- 773
tions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial 796
pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, 773
there were numerous stories of a magical character which were 424
bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since 773
this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing 128

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[1] Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

[4] See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

773 the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character
128 were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 198 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 361 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 346 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man[a] went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

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[1] The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

[a] [Culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

361 346 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas [172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

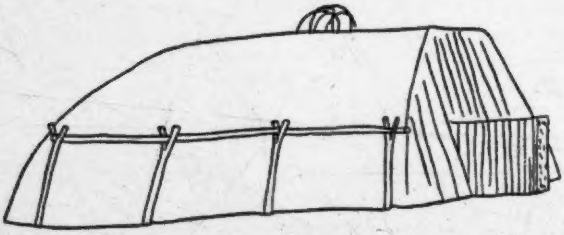

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 171 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the 361
regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of 773
leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, 776
when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar,
as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived 346
before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system 773
was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 614
616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

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[2] By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

[3] This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named
614 clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three
616 above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the
Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the
opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the
Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or
were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox
epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who
776 represented the village activities and peace functions of the
616 tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone
773 Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war
expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw
prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the
speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the
snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who
Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the
crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the
small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the
people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox
614 epidemic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken,
and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an
officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on
the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as
each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other
village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but
while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When
erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming
616 a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting
614 during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall
according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door
on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that
side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the
door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space
on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of 346
the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the 614
Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The 793
WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in- 778

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[4] Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81). 793 614 796

[5] This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

[6] Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)
masa'numąkE (north people)
maxEnu (one)

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc
masa'numąkE
nupa (two)

778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
793 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
614 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade
796 society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the
blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be
passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the
421 old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much
goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into
a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages.
778 His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed
Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE
mi-ka-xo'
EhE'nakahoc
masa'numąkE
na'mini (three)

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc.
masa'numąkE
to'pa (four)

[7] Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

[8] According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man 619
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization 773
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies
773 and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo
Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
776 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance
778 was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox
epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan.
However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange
424 his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction
was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[564] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit
and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. 796
Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in 778
warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right
to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, 424
a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the 778
following items:

778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of
776 the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but other-
wise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the
773 People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth
according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the
796 WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this
614 rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants.
During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the cere-
796 monial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who
had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

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The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision experience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

796 experience. They would know the qualities one must possess to go through the ordeals of the ceremony. They would appraise 787 their son's ability to meet these requirements. If he were too young or his wives were not industrious or loyal, they would advise him instead to give a feast to the men having Okipa rights, and they would, in turn, pray for his success, giving him some article to wear when out to war. It was necessary to eliminate some candidates. Even then, there were two or three performances in each village every summer as a rule. Sons of former Okipa makers received preference, as young men were expected to maintain their fathers' record.

When the young man having a suitable vision had invited the Okipa Religious Society in and had described his vision, the members would discuss the matter among themselves. They would either compliment him on his good fortune in receiving supernatural instruction to perform the ceremony if they considered him worthy or, if in doubt, they would tell him that it appeared that he was to give the ceremony some time and advise him to fast much, offer feasts to the older men, be helpful to the old people, and go out to war. He was then on probation. If successful, some member of the society would inform him that his former dream was genuine and that he should begin preparations to give the ceremony the following year when the willows were in full leaf. Since there was little inclination to dis-
796 pense with the village summer buffalo hunt, it was necessary to set a time for Okipa performances so as to avoid confliction. When one Okipa performance was planned, it was usually held after the village had returned from the hunt. If there were to be two performances, the first was given before the hunt and the second one upon their return.

As soon as a candidate received permission to give the ceremony, the chiefs' criers announced the news through the village that "a certain man will have the Bulls dance when the next water willows are in full leaf."

According to tradition, the Okipa must be given every summer to insure an abundance of buffaloes and general good fortune. Occasions arose when none had pledged the ceremony for a particular summer. Anyone could then volunteer to give the ceremony and not be required to accumulate goods as payments to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. 796 Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly [554] respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief.

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, 796 and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable 431 amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property.

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as 796 permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their 431 female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped 614 them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother.

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the sum- 796 mer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The 431 Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought 554 out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large

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431 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were es-
554 pecially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or
796 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to
784 give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails
from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have
angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go
[562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had
ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the *old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went* through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head chief's lodge, where they waited for Lone Man. Dressed in his ceremonial paraphernalia, he came directly toward the village from the prairies to the south.[12] When he reached the village, he was met by the Black Mouth Society men (the police), who questioned him as to whether he was a friend or enemy until he had made known his identity and explained that he had come from his home on a high hill, generally associated with Buffalo Home Butte, in the south to open their Okipa lodge door for the buffalo dance. He was taken directly to the lodge by the custodian of the Okipa lodge, where the head men were assembled. There he told of the time when he lived with the Mandan. He told of the conflict with Hoita concerning a white buffalo robe and that he had once freed the animals from the Dog Den Butte so the Mandan would not starve. He told how he had saved them from the flood and that he had given them the turtles, sacred cedar, Okipa lodge, and the ceremony itself. He told them that he returned every year when the willow leaves were full grown to open their Okipa lodge. He was dressed in a wolf robe, and his body and face were painted white; he wore a headdress of porcupine hair fringed with jackrabbit fur, and on the top of this he had tied a stuffed raven. His collar and anklets were of jackrabbit skin. He carried a wooden pipe in the left hand and in the right hand a flattened ash club with the moon and thunderbird on one side, the morning star and the sun on the other.

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[9] There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

[10] Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

[11] Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

The head chief sent the announcer through the village to order all the women and small children to stay in their lodges and to keep their dogs tied up inside while the Lone Man made the rounds of the village relating the origin of the people[13] and their struggles against starvation and floods. At lodges in which resided young men who were to be tortured during the ceremony, he secured knives which he took to the Okipa lodge to be used later in cutting the flesh of the ones undergoing the torture feature. He carried a bag of pemmican from which he gave each man a handful. Much of the day was spent in relating the history of the people and the manner of acquiring all the things he had given the people to make them happy.

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[12] At Like-a-Fishhook Village he approached from downstream, which was from an easterly direction.

[13] Witnesses to this portion of the ceremony say that a very old language was used, the words being largely unintelligible.

The first evening.—The ceremony began in the evening. The 796 Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of [534] pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan 796 leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked 787 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking vi- 785 sions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

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[14] This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

[15] Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time. 787 785

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post 796

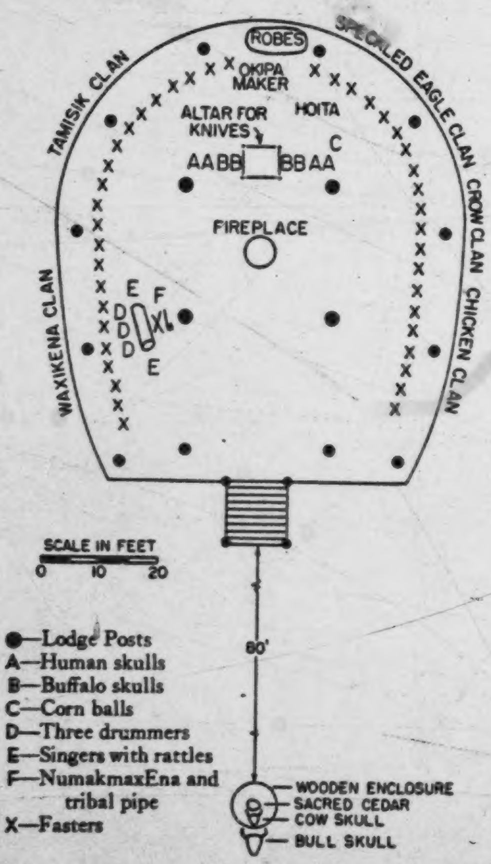
ROBES
OKIPA MAKER
HOITA
ALTAR FOR KNIVES
AABB BBAA
C
FIREPLACE
TAMISIK CLAN
SPECKLED EAGLE CLAN
CROW CLAN
CHICKEN CLAN
WAXIKENA CLAN
E
F
D
D
D
E
X
SCALE IN FEET
0
10
20
80'
WOODEN ENCLOSURE
SACRED CEDAR
COW SKULL
BULL SKULL
●—Lodge Posts
A—Human skulls
B—Buffalo skulls
C—Corn balls
D—Three drummers
E—Singers with rattles
F—NumakmaxEna and tribal pipe
X—Fasters

Fig. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

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[16] They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

796 each end of the drum. Lone Man sat in front of the drum dressed in his full ceremonial outfit, smoking his pipe, and eating of the pemmican placed before him. The altar was set up between the northeast and northwest posts of the lodge and so arranged that half was on each half of the lodge; that is, there would be two human skulls and two buffalo skulls, and two posts of the small four-post structure symbolic of the four posts of the universe, on each half of the lodge. The Bull Dancers' paraphernalia were on the four-post altar, and beneath it were the sharp-edged tools and splints to be used later in the torture feature of the ceremony (see Fig. 14).

The first act was the ceremonial transfer of Lone Man's pipe to the Okipa Maker to be used by him for the duration of the ceremony. Lone Man then called Hoita from his place to supervise the performance and to see that every detail of the dance, as given in the Dog Den Butte when he was in charge, was carried out.[17] The dance began within the Okipa lodge at once. At definite places in the dance, the drummers picked up the hide serving as a drum and moved it to the east by four stages. At midnight, when the dancing stopped, the drums were on the east side of the lodge. The fasters were expected to cry all night.

796 *First day.*—At daybreak the fasters turned their buffalo robes around so that the hair was on the outside and the head side
782 of the robe was over their heads, imitating buffaloes. The three drummers[18] (Hoxka) came out of the Okipa lodge at sunrise, placed their rolled-up hide serving as a drum to the east side of the sacred cedar, and sat down back of the drum facing toward the entrance to the Okipa lodge. The two men with rattles next came out and sat down behind the drummers. When the drummers and rattlers were in their places, the Okipa Maker came out of the lodge dressed in an antelope hide with the head on,

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[17] Catlin says that Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (Lone Man) left the ceremony and village after the transfer of the pipe (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], p. 253). Maximilian says that Numank-Machana (Lone Man) officiates again on the fourth day of the ceremony (*Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 333).

[18] Maximilian reports six drummers: "Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards" (*ibid.*, p. 325). Six drummers was the correct number according to tradition. The number was reduced after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over 796
his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, 782
which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then
he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the
buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the
wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing
his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him
and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes
near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away.

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he 796
stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers
began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. 535
They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker.

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the 796
day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where 562
it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of
the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side,
while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives
of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood
for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge.
The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge 796
at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty 785
fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without

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[19] Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

796 785 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 421 614 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were considered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 787 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his ceremonial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

The sixth group was that of the ''Black-tail Deer'' and 561 consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561 but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 424 of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy 535 into the "Soldier Band." Another was the ''Old Dog Dance.'' The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The ''Hot Dance'' was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561 of these of which the first was ''The Band of the Gun'' which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the ''River Band.'' The third band was the ''Hay Women'' who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the ''Women of the White Cow,'' most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [304] chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595 from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611 probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562 though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity 684 was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586] among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831 scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171 given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

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used in decorating the Bull Dancers. Eight men selected beforehand danced eight times before the sacred cedar during the second day. These men were the largest individuals to be found in the village, and they were trained carefully to take the parts assigned them by the Hoita.

While the Okipa ceremony was going through its first day's performance, the owners of bundles representing creatures which were to appear in the ceremony met according to bundles and selected those who were to dance and receive offerings of goods on the "Everything Comes Back Day." Legitimate bundle-owners could officiate or they could select a young man who, according to custom, would probably inherit one of their bundles. When no selection was made, the Hoita could choose some good dancer to assume the part. Some characters were selected by the Hoita, particularly those representing buffalo bulls who danced during the second day.

The following is a list of characters participating in the ceremony on the third day.

1. Eight men representing buffalo bulls: These men were selected by the Hoita, who chose large men of uniform size. Fasters were often selected, in which instance their fasting was terminated.
2. Two men representing bald eagles: Big Bird bundle-owners selected these.
3. Two men impersonating women: Holy Women, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Holy Robe, and Woman Above bundle-owners met to select their representatives. One was to impersonate a foolish woman, the other a wise one.
4. Two men representing swans: Men having Lone Man rights were selected, since the swan feathers were alternated with raven feathers on the Lone Man's war-bonnet trailer.
5. Two men representing snakes: Snake bundle-owners, of which there were a large number, selected their representatives.
6. Two men, one representing a calumet eagle, and the other a hawk: Selected by the Bird bundle-owners.
7. Two men representing the black bears of the Eagle-trapping bundles.
8. Two men representing grizzly bears: Selected by Grizzly Bear bundle-owners.
9. Two men representing beavers: Those individuals with Creek or River bundles selected them.
10. Two men representing strips of dried meat: They were selected by the Hoita.
11. Two men representing night: They were selected by those people having bundles relating to the stars or moon. Many mythological characters were believed to be living in the sky as stars, and men whose bundle rites included these would meet and select representatives. Many of these mythological characters were believed to have lived on the earth in early days.

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196 12. Two men representing day: These men symbolize the "first day of creation"[20] and were selected by Woman Above bundle-owners.

13. Two men representing wolves: They were selected by the war-party leaders who were known as Old Wolves.

14. One man representing First Creator (the coyote): The Hoita selected the First Creator impersonator, who was usually a mature man with considerable ceremonial knowledge and a record of assisting in many ceremonies.

15. One man representing the meadow lark: He was selected by the Hoita. The meadow lark was represented in the ceremony because it was said to warn war parties of enemies and because, in very early times, the men exchanged the crescents from its breast for seashells with Maniga's people.

16. Young men representing a band of antelopes: There was no selection of impersonators. As many as wished could volunteer.

17. One man representing the Foolish One (OxinhEdE): There were a number of OxinhEdE bundle-owners. Their bundles were graded. They selected one of their number or a man who would ultimately inherit the principal bundle.

All those who were to perform on the third day were selected beforehand, but final authorization was received from the Hoita on the morning of the third day in a manner to be described in the account of the third day's performance.

Those impersonating buffalo bulls were painted red, white, and black. When the walking ceremony was to be performed at the close of the Okipa, the face of a small child[21] was painted in black on the abdomen of each bull. While the dancers were being painted, fasters from opposite sides of the Okipa lodge imitated bulls fighting.

After the Bull Dancers were painted, buffalo heads of tanned hide, cut so that they extended to the dancers' hips, were put on. There was a single buffalo horn on the middle of the back of each Bull Dancer's costume to which were tied bundles of willows symbolic of the flood. Each Bull Dancer wore a breechcloth of buffalo skin and wristlets and anklets of buffalo hair. The eight Bulls were all dressed alike and were of equal size.

Early on the second morning, while the Bull Dancers were being painted and dressed, Lone Man walked through the village carrying his pipe in one hand and the carved wood stick in

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[20] Cf. Wolf Chief's version of the Creation Myth to follow.

[21] The face was that of First Pretty Woman. For an account of this mythological character refer to chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony." If the walking ceremony, called by Catlin "Feast to the Buffaloes" (*O-Kee-Pa*, p. 32), was not to be performed, the Bull Dancers' chests and abdomen were painted with alternate horizontal white and red stripes about two inches wide. The "walking" ceremony was performed at the close of the Okipa whenever the age-grade society assisted the Okipa Maker in collecting the necessary property for payment to the officers of the Okipa.

the other. The people gave him robes, for he symbolized the 796
first Lone Man who went through the village each morning at sunrise attending to the needs of all his people.

Those painting the Bull Dancers worked all morning and did not finish until noon.[22] The two men with buffalo-hide rattles came out and took their places. The Okipa Maker came out

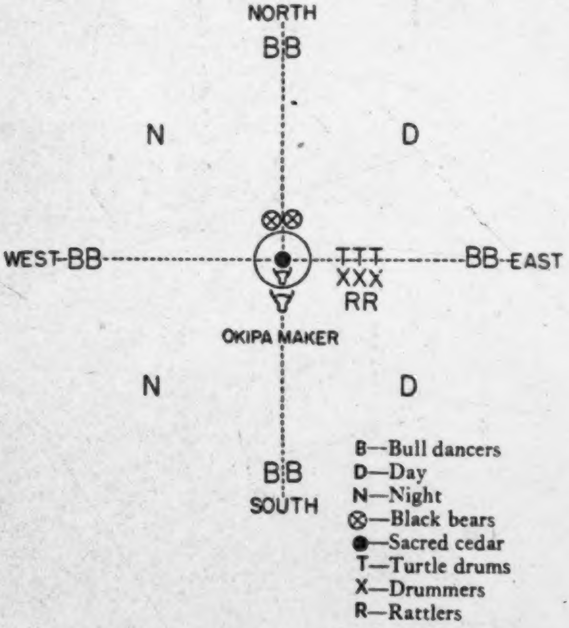
NORTH
BB
N
D
WEST-BB
TTT
BB-EAST
XXX
RR
OKIPA MAKER
N
D
BB
SOUTH
B—Bull dancers
D—Day
N—Night
⊗—Black bears
●—Sacred cedar
T—Turtle drums
X—Drummers
R—Rattlers

FIG. 15.—Direction symbolism for the bull dances

dressed as on the previous day and placed the pipe and pemmican ball in front of the turtles. He proceeded to the south side of the sacred cedar, where he again wept as he prayed to Lone Man to bring the buffaloes near and keep bad luck away from the village. While he was praying, the drummers began to beat the drums and sing, which was the signal for the Bull Dancers to come out. The people would congregate on lodges and 796
around the open circle to observe these elaborately painted ac- 535
tors who performed the dances which were the most colorful of

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[22] Men bought the right and privilege to paint the characters of the ceremony. The Okipa Maker paid the painters for their services.

796 535 the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.

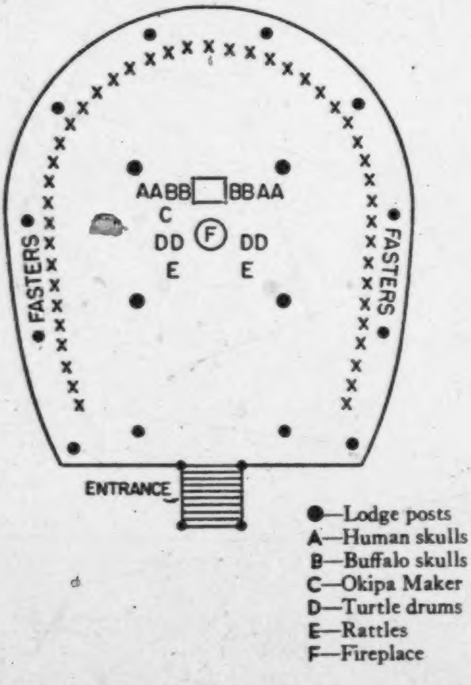
AA BB BB AA
C
F
DD DD
E E
FASTERS
FASTERS
ENTRANCE
●—Lodge posts
A—Human skulls
B—Buffalo skulls
C—Okipa Maker
D—Turtle drums
E—Rattles
F—Fireplace

Fig. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

796 185 Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]

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[23] Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

on the second day. Each candidate selected a man of his father's 796 clan to cut the holes through the skin and insert the skewers. 785 These men were selected by each candidate before the ceremony, and the knife to be used was given to the Lone Man the evening of the "Going In" ceremony. As each candidate stepped forward and presented himself, the clan "father" picked up a knife from the altar and cut the holes for the skewers. Two skewers were inserted through the skin on the back or on the breast by which the candidate was suspended in midair by a lariat fastened over a pole of the Okipa lodge. Other skewers were inserted through the skin of the legs to which buffalo skulls were hung. When there were enough candidates, one was hung up while the Bulls were outside dancing in order that each Bull in returning to his place in the lodge could hook the sufferer (see Fig. 17). During the later years at Like-a-Fishhook Village, a corn scaffold was erected at the entrance to the Okipa lodge, and those tortured were often suspended from its beams where they were hooked about by the Bull Dancers when leaving or entering the lodge.[24] When the candidate became unconscious, he was lowered to the ground and left to regain consciousness without being molested by any of the observers. It was believed that experiences with the supernatural when acquired at that time were the most genuine and the richest ones.[25]

A midday meal was prepared for the Bull Dancers. The 796 women preparing the meal wore their robes with the hair side out to resemble buffaloes. They motioned to the lodge where the food was cooked, and the Bulls ran there instead of going into the Okipa lodge. After finishing their meal, the Bulls carried food to the Hoita, Lone Man, Blue Heron, and the Rattlers. The Okipa Maker and fasters were not permitted to eat food or drink water, although they could smoke whenever they wished.

Preparations were made during the evening for the third day,

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[24] At the last performances of the Okipa, a tall pole was set in the ground between the ceremonial lodge and cedar with a rope hanging down. Those going through the torture feature were tied to the rope by means of thongs in their flesh but were not suspended.

[25] After uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, the torture elements and associated vision quests of the Okipa declined in importance. Those seeking visions preferred to suffer in isolated places, since the necessary rules of conduct were being broken, particularly by women, in the consolidated village.

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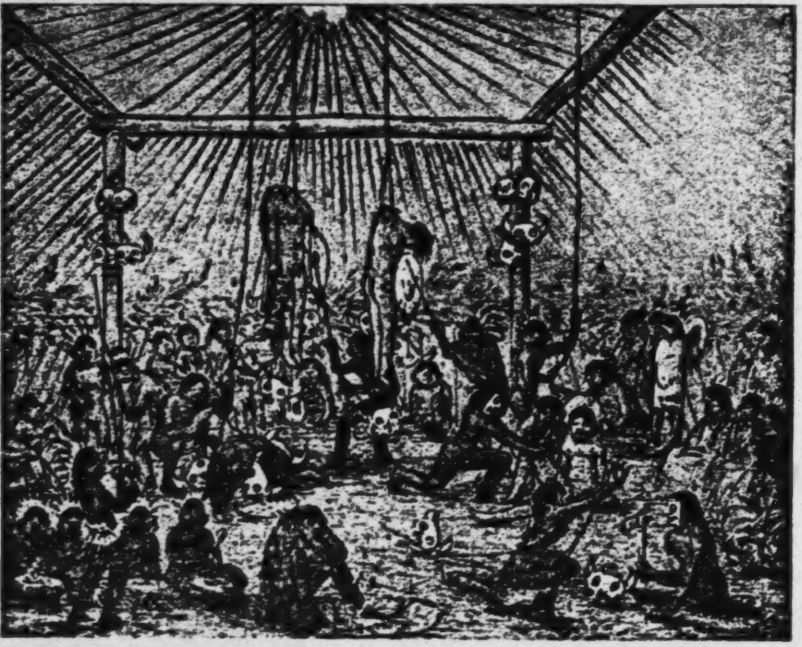

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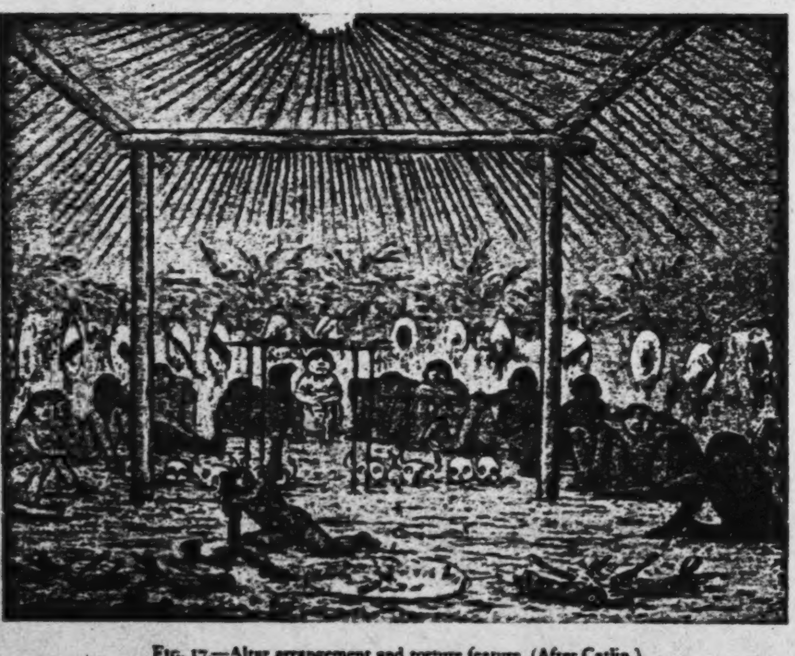

FIG. 17.—Altar arrangement and torture feature. (After Catlin.)

[p. 136]

796 which was known as "Everything Comes Back Day." This was the day when all the mythological beings that were on the earth when the first Lone Man and Hoita lived among the Mandan came back. The participants were nominated as stated above and met at the ceremonial lodge to receive their sticks, which was their authority to officiate. (See Figs. 18 and 19.)

[534]

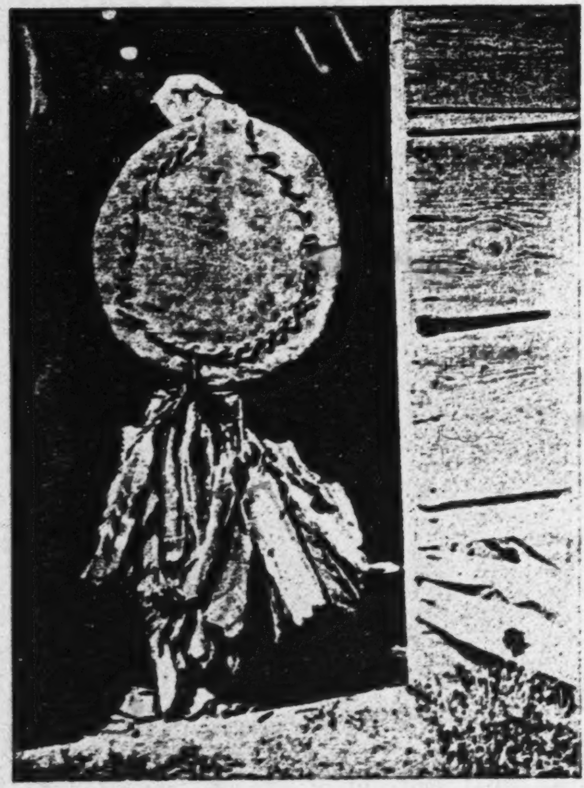

FIG. 18.—Back view of turtle drum with feather collar

Wolf Chief supplied the following firsthand information on the calling-out of those who had previously been selected by the respective bundle-owners to enact their parts in the third day's performance:

> The masks were at the head of the lodge when I entered. They began to name the men who were to imitate the different animals belonging in the dance. The officers first chose First Creator to sit beside the door. He had

796 some willow sticks. He said, "I would like to have a foolish person who looks like a human to paint his body black with white spots and carry a stick representing his penis." That was OxinhEdE, the foolish one. The one selected to assume that part came forward and received one of the sticks.

Then he would ask for a star to join in, and another would take a stick. Then he said, "I would like to have this dry meat represented. I want to have a Black Bear in it," and another took a stick. "I would like to have a grizzly bear."

Then he said, "I want to have a woman in it. I want someone to be the bald eagle. I want a hawk in this ceremony. I want a meadowlark." Men would come and take the sticks.

[718]

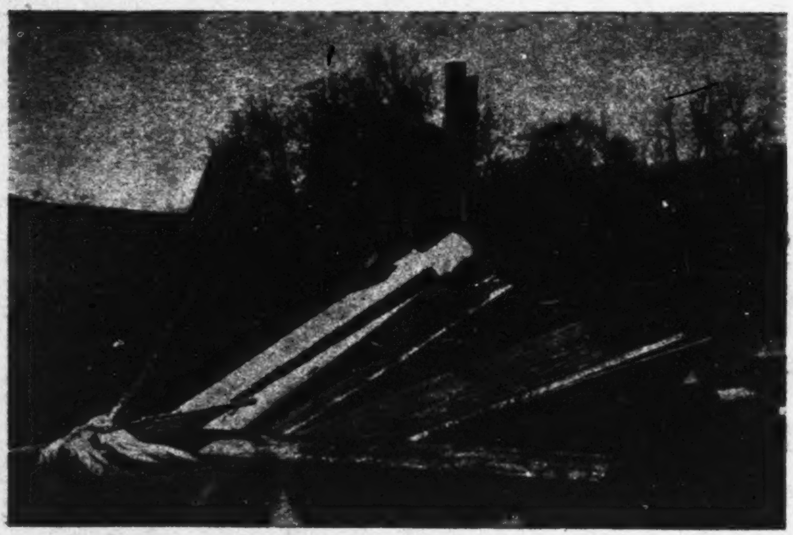

FIG. 15.—Present condition of the sacred cedar

He would say, "I want to select the good buffaloes. I want four of them to be the real buffaloes." Four came and took sticks. "We must have a First Creator here too. I want an antelope." When he came to the antelope, more than one came and took the remainder of the sticks. There would be many antelopes. That ended the naming of the characters so far as I remember, but I know I forgot some of them.

The antelopes would go out and cover their bodies with mud and have sticks for horns. The hawk would have long braided grass and a ball at the end for a club. The bald-headed eagle would have the braided grass for his club. Black Bear would be dressed in a black bearskin.

Third day: "Everything Comes Back Day."—The painting of the Bull Dancers and all the characters represented during this day began at daybreak and continued until nearly noon. The special painters prepared the eight Bull Dancers and the one

Mangy Buffalo, while the other characters were painted by bundle-owners of their own respective groups. Fresh willows were brought in from the river bottoms to decorate the sides of the Okipa lodge and to be worn by the Bull Dancers. A long pole with a rawhide lariat was erected south of the sacred cedar in later years. Here some of the fasters were to "suffer for the Buffaloes" during the day.

The "coming-out" ceremony on the third day was the same as on the second day. The two men with rattles led, followed by the three drummers carrying the turtle drums. The Okipa Maker came out, carrying the pipe and pemmican ball, which he placed in front of the drummers, and took his place on the south side of the sacred cedar, as before, where he prayed to the first Lone Man. The fasters followed close behind him and lay down in a straight line on the south side of the sacred cedar. The drummers began one of the songs, and the animals came out, dancing in pairs. The Bull Dancers formed at the four cardinal points and then at the eight directions. The two characters representing day danced on the east side and the two representing night were on the west side (see Fig. 15). The Bears danced on the north side because the Old Black Bears, whom the Mandan believe taught them the art of trapping eagles and catching fish, lived in the north. The Bear impersonators were dressed in bearhides. Those impersonating the eagles were painted black with white heads. The Antelopes were young boys painted with yellow bodies and white heads. Two men were painted with spots on the back to represent the Snakes, and two wore close-fitting buffalo hides and beaver tails to represent the Beavers (see Figs. 20–23).

Wolf Chief, who had danced the Bull Dance on the "Everything Comes Back Day," had these comments to make on that day's performance:[26]

> All this time Lone Man was at the head of the lodge with another repre-enting the First Creator. Lone Man carried a staff with black raven feathers nd white swan feathers alternating in rows between each other on the stick.

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[26] For other descriptions of the Okipa ceremony see Catlin, *Letters and Notes on he Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 244–76, and -Kee-Pa; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 324–34; and Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 100–111.

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He had a jackrabbit hide on his ankles; his cap was of raven feathers; he was painted with red paint.

First Creator had a coyote hide covering his shoulders. He had his forehead painted black. He wore a coyote hide around his head.

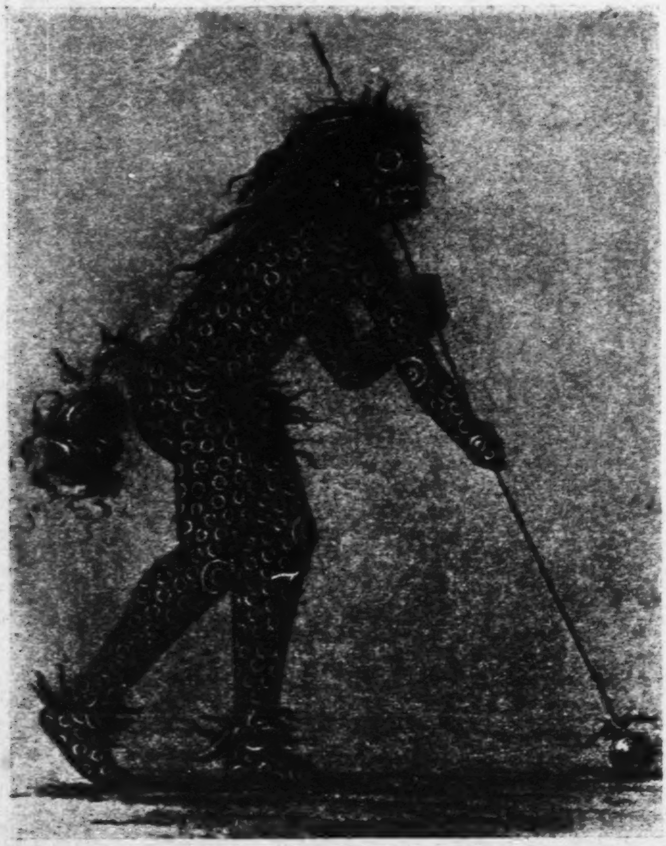

FIG. 20.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: Oxinhedɛ (Foolish One). (After Catlin.)

Big Turtle was the leader (Hoita) in the Okipa I saw. He selected the Buffaloes; they were Bears Ghost (Mandan), Chicken Bear (Hidatsa), Wolf Chief (Hidatsa), and Red Leaves (Mandan). He asked us to stand at the four directions inside the lodge. I saw the buffalo masks and the young sand-bar willows they were bringing in. They stuck the willows into the wall both upside down and right side up.

Big Turtle said, "It is nearly midday. You should paint these Buffaloes now." During this time the Antelopes were going down to the river to paint, climbing up onto the lodges, or running around in every direction. Bad Buffalo, a Mandan, painted me. They had black, white, and red paint. The Bulls had to be tall to use the heads, so that is why they picked us. They asked me to spread out my legs and arms and rest on two sticks in order to stretch. While he was painting me, calicoes were offered to him. I tried to get my share. Later, when dancing, someone would motion to us that an offering was to be made. The first ones there would get the best, and they shared with the others.

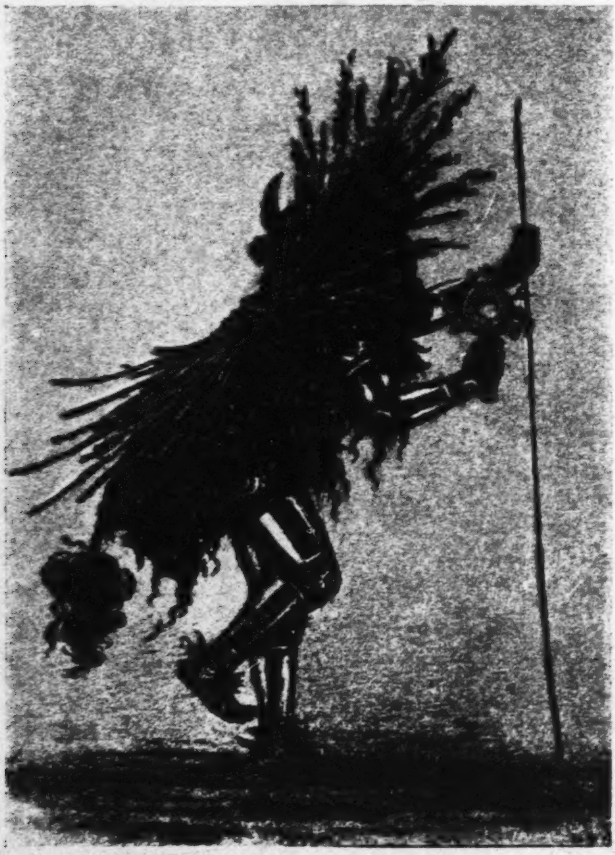

Fig. 21.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: Bull Dancer. (After Catlin.)

In painting us they left a space open on the chest which the masks would cover, otherwise our body was painted red and white stripes crosswise over the abdomen. We had black noses and foreheads. The mask over our heads nearly covered our faces. I held the hair from the mask with my mouth. They painted red and white stripes on our legs and arms. We wore buffalo long hair around our ankles. Each of us wore a belt cut from an old robe. Painting was slow, for it was fancy work. I stood there so long I became tired. Big Turtle brought

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the sacred pipe for me to smoke, but he would not let me touch it with my hands while smoking.

When the painting was finished, Big Turtle told the singers to get ready to go outside. Short Bull, Bites the Nose, and Cedar were the singers. Those with rattles were Little Shield and Clamshell Necklace. They went to the cedar and took their places. About that time men dressed as women (one was White Belly and the other Crazy Raven) appeared. Their faces looked like women's as they had their hair combed like women do. They were short in stature. They wore beautiful dresses made of elk hide decorated with good quillwork. They wore women's leggings and carried sticks with scalps attached. At that time the Foolish One came in from the prairie and jumped around. He jumped over everything, even the holy things, while now and then he would make a motion toward the sun and say that everything was good below. Inside the

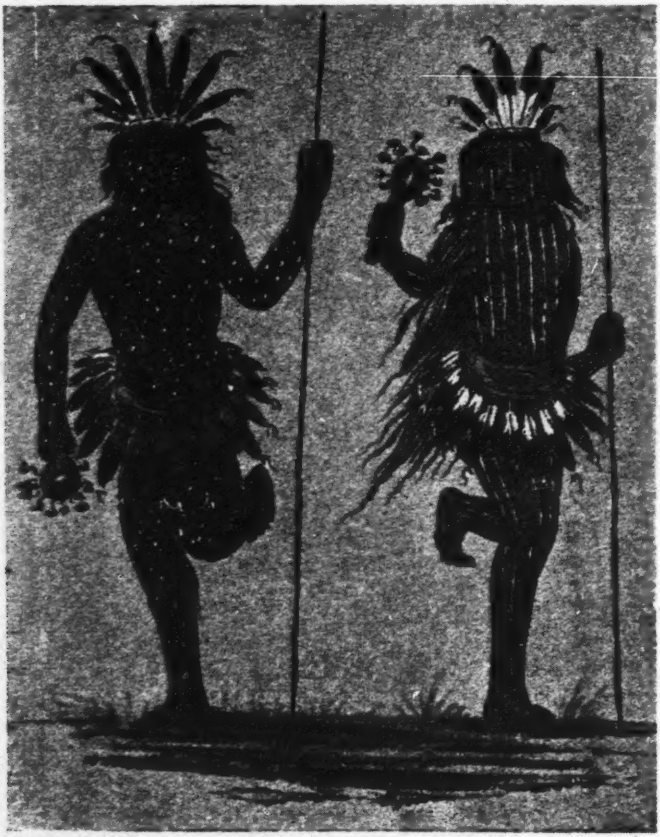

FIG. 22.—Okika ceremony impersonators: Night and First Day of Creation (After Catlin.)

lodge again, Lone Man would get up and ask the Black Bears and Grizzly Bears to go out and see if there were any offerings to them. They would go outside. At the same time the Birds would be walking around watching the Antelopes. The Stars were painted in red with white spots all over. There was one man dressed as Dry Meat, and he would have red marks in different places over his body.

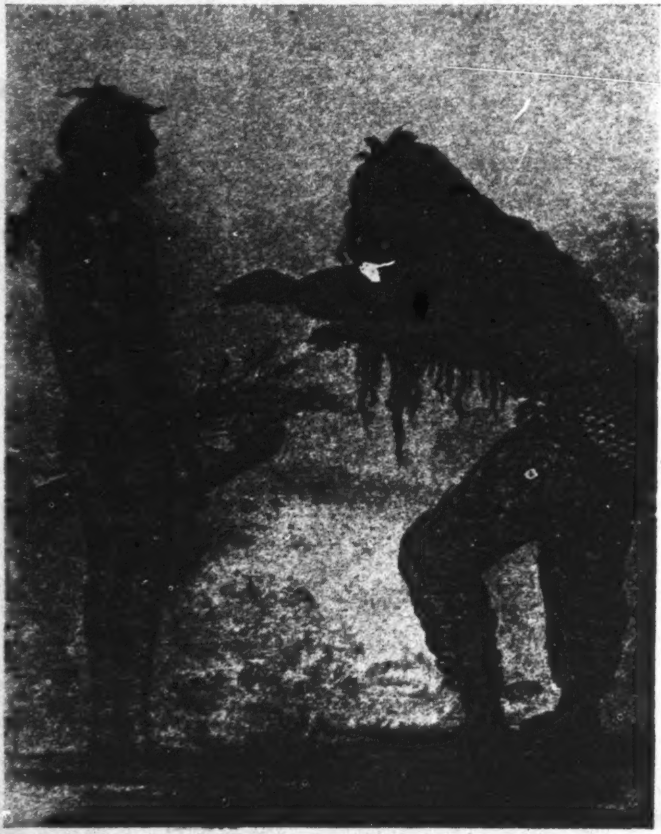

FIG. 23.—Okipa ceremony impersonators: Snake and Beaver. (After Catlin.)

The singers told us to stand in front of them. Lone Man would say something I could not understand, for he used an old Mandan dialect, but afterward I learned that he was saying something which had to do with a cleaning act to make us light and active in dancing. [798]

Then Lone Man said that the singers should begin again. The men with the rattles began and the other singers joined in beating the turtles. It seemed that the earth was shaking. At that time First Creator was gone, but I saw him afterward on the south side of the cedar. All that time, two Women, four Buf-

> faloes, two Stars, Dry Meat, and the other impersonators divided in two rows as they came out and stood on each side of the cedar. The Blue Heron was sitting by the Lone Man in the lodge. He was still there when we returned, for he was not supposed to move until the ceremony was over.
>
> When the singers took the turtles out, they went to the cedar and faced the door with the turtles in front of them. We came out bellowing like the Buffalo Bulls. They all sang at the turtles, and then we went by pairs to each side. One woman impersonator went one way, the other went the other way. I saw the Antelopes being chased by the Birds and running onto the lodges, while the Bears stood by the cedar. First Creator had a coyote hide over his shoulder and was running in circles all the time without stopping. Every time they sang we danced until we met behind the cedar. Those who pretended to be stars said they had to travel slowly like stars. The singers would beat the drums rapidly and the Bulls would dance so violently they were almost exhausted. Still the Stars hardly moved. At times people would make offerings to the Bears, and the Antelopes would try to take the goods away from them. Then the Hawks and Big Birds would come to take the goods away from the Antelopes, hitting them with their clubs. While all this was going on, the Stars hardly moved. If anyone owned the star medicine, he would invite the Stars to come and eat. We always looked around while dancing, but it happened that I did not see it because I was dancing the east direction facing the cedar when someone waved. When I looked around, I saw who it was, but the other Buffaloes got there first and took the food and drygoods. While we ate, we gave the goods to the men who painted us. Our protectors, the Birds, would try to take it away from us. After we finished, the singers took their turtles inside, went around in a circle inside the lodge, and came right back out again. They placed their turtles on the ground again.
>
> Sometimes they would invite us to eat several times. The Stars walked slowly, and we tired, they were so slow. When we went out again, the men impersonating women were in front of us. I rubbed them on both sides, and some of the men said that a Buffalo was after those women, even though I did it only for fun. I saw a man with a sack drawn over his body and painted with blue mud. He had a fork tine in front of him, and every time he came near the Bulls, he would stick it into them, and they would run away. Whenever the people dressed as different characters came out, men with that same medicine would call them and give them a feast. It would not take long after we began to dance until all the paint would be run off.

The dancers came out twelve times the third day.

Throughout the ceremony there had been challenges sent to the Foolish One to come and match his powers with the Lone Man and his pipe. Foolish One symbolized those who did not respect sacred things, and the drama illustrated the unhappy lot of those who failed to fast or seek supernatural protection through purchase or fasting. Just after the performers had completed their first dance on the third day, he appeared on the prairie following a zigzag course to the village. He was scantily clothed, wearing a breechcloth of buffalo hair, a buffalo tail be-

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hind, anklets of buffalo hair, and a small close-fitting cap of buffalo hair with a raven feather in it. He was painted black with white teeth painted around his mouth; a red disk on his chest represented the sun; a red crescent on his back represented the moon; dozens of white circles on the body, limbs, and head represented the stars. He wore a rod and two small pumpkins representing male genitals. His limbs appeared to have holes through them at the joints due to the peculiar manner of painting a red spot with a white circle around it at the desired points. He wore a cornhusk necklace and carried a staff about eight feet long on the end of which hung a ball of buffalo hair which was symbolic of a human head.

As he approached the village, he leaped about in imitation of the Foolish One of the mythology, jumping over any person in his way. Small children had been told that this terrible creature ate people,[27] since he came from the sun, so they hid back of their mothers. Women threw robes toward him, and other men with the right to take the part of the Foolish One followed behind collecting them.

While the Foolish One approached the open circle of the village, the Okipa Maker continued praying at the sacred cedar and did not move from his place until he heard him near by, within the open circle. The Okipa Maker grasped Lone Man's pipe in both hands and, carrying it before him, advanced toward the Foolish One, challenging that one's right to come among the people to frighten them and bring misfortune or death at the hands of their enemies by breaking up the dances for the buffaloes. As he advanced, the singing and dancing stopped, while all looked on attentively at the drama. No person was to utter a sound, and any dog that barked was killed by the Black Mouths. It was believed the tribe's welfare was dependent on the powers of Lone Man's pipe to overcome the power of the Foolish One's staff. The Foolish One retreated before the Okipa Maker, and the people sang the victory songs. It was believed that Lone Man's pipe had saved the people from this evil one who brought death and ill fortune to those who dreamed of him. Foolish One then behaved like a clown and entertained the onlookers by imitating bulls during the breeding season. He ap-

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[27] See chap. xii, "People Above Ceremony," where he is described as a cannibal.

796 proached the young women first. Then he advanced toward the Bulls, dancing around the sacred cedar as though smelling them. Each time the performers came out of the Okipa lodge, Foolish One approached the two men dressed like women, one being sensible, the other foolish. First he approached the sensible girl[28] and by signs told her that he loved her and offered her his cornhusk necklace, but she would refuse to have anything to do with him. Then he directed his attention to the other girl,[29] who gladly accepted his offers. The spectators laughed at this comical performance. He performed during four of the twelve times the dancers came out. At the end of the fourth dance, his staff was broken in entering the Okipa lodge by trying to enter with the rod crosswise of the door. The women, then losing all fear of him, rushed at him, broke his staff into little pieces, and drove him out of the village, pelting him with rocks, dirt, and pieces of wood. He ran to the river, where he washed off his paint while two men, also having Foolish One rights, who had followed him, gathered up the presents and tied up his cap and necklace in a buffalo-calf hide to resemble a doll. This doll was then lashed to a pole before the Okipa lodge to be an offering to the Foolish One who lived in the Sun.

The women brought food for the animals at midday and threw it to them while they danced. The food for the Bull Dancers was kept in an earth lodge near by. When the Bulls saw a woman approaching with the hair side of her robe out, they knew their food was ready. All the animal impersonators rushed toward the lodge where the Bulls were to eat, and there was general disorder. The Antelopes, being faster runners than the Buffaloes, who were burdened with the masks and willows, reached the door first. Two men, one painted to represent a large hawk, the other a bald eagle, were stationed on each side of the doorway with stone hammers to keep the Antelopes out, but some usually got in.

796 Fasters began presenting themselves to be tortured when the
785 dancers had come out the fifth time. A long pole had been rigged
up south of the sacred cedar, and a faster was fastened to the

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[28] She represented Corn Silk, who went above to marry the Moon, as well as all the other kindly female deities.

[29] She represented Cheyenne Woman, who married the Sun.

lariat hanging down from the top of the pole by means of 796 skewers through his chest. He ran around this pole for the duration 785 of one appearance of the dancers and was then cut loose.[30] A different faster was attached to the pole each time that the Bull Dancers were outside dancing.

The two men representing the night or stars led the dancers on their last appearance on the third day, taking very short steps so that they scarcely moved along, and timed the dance to finish just as the first evening star (*no'hǫka tawi'hǫka*, or "grandson") appeared after sunset. The two men at dusk returned to the Okipa lodge and spent the night in places just back of the Okipa Maker.

There were usually a number of women fasting on top of the entrance to the Okipa lodge. They came there the first night and left at sunset of the third day. These women sought various benefits; some sought relief for illness; others sought success for relatives about to leave or then away from home on the warpath.

Fourth day: "The Hunting Day."—All those who had gone 796 through the torture feature on the second and third days left the Okipa lodge the night before the fourth day. There were only four Bull Dancers on this day who were men selected because of their great size and bravery in battle. The Bulls were painted and dressed as on the preceding days. Young men brought fresh willows from the sand bars to decorate the Okipa lodge. Those who were to impersonate the hunters prepared willow hoops with rawhide lacing across them and poles, such as were used in the Hoop and Pole game, which they took into the Okipa lodge to use in the hunting rites.

The fasters did not come out for the first dance on the fourth day; only the Okipa Maker, the drummers, the rattlers, and the four Bull Dancers appeared to dance four times before returning to the Okipa lodge. The Bulls came out once for each of the

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[30] This account of the Okipa was supplied in part by Scattercorn, to whom her father, Moves Slowly, described the ceremony as held in his boyhood. She tells me that when her father was young the torturing was done in the medicine lodge and no pole was set up outside. The use of a pole suggests Hidatsa NaxpikE influence. Maximilian, as reported in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 332, says that some hung over a bank. Boller (*op. cit.*, p. 104) reports a pole was put up south of the sacred cedar.

796 clans on the last day, and the clan names were recited in the ritual.[31]

The Okipa Maker and the remaining fasters underwent vari-
796 ous tortures on the last day just before the Bull Dancers came
785 out the final time. Often there were not more than two fasters remaining with the Okipa Maker, and at times the Okipa Maker was the only one left to be tortured. Two men of the father's clan pierced the flesh for the skewers and suspended the candidates above the ground. Buffalo skulls were hung from their legs. A man who had killed an enemy could wear an enemy's skull around his neck. When a faster became unconscious, he was taken down.

796 After the sixteenth dance, one of the drummers came out with rattles made of buffalo hide, followed by the four Bulls, who danced in a weaving course around the sacred cedar. The Hoita came last with two gourd rattles. The dancers, when on the east side of the cedar, addressed the song to Mother Corn as mother, then went to the west side to address the song to Thunderbird as father,[32] after which all retired to the Okipa lodge.

Inside the lodge four songs were sung. These were the songs used when repairing the sacred cedar. After each song the turtles were lifted to determine how heavy they were, and each time the turtles were moved all the young men in the lodge stamped their feet in imitation of the buffalo herds which had also stamped on being released from the Dog Den Butte.

After the turtles had been moved four times, with the stamping of feet accompanying each move, the time for the "freeing of the animals" and the "animal hunt" had come.[33] The Hoita led the way from the Okipa lodge, carrying Lone Man's pipe. The drummers followed, carrying the three turtles which they placed in their customary place east of the sacred cedar. The Four Bulls followed Hoita, who in turn led the hunters with their poles and hoops. Hoita took the Okipa Maker's place 796 south of the cedar, and the Bulls stood in a row south of him. All the hunters formed in a line south of the Bulls, and Lone Man stood alone south of the hunters. The participants faced the entrance of the Okipa lodge. The Bulls danced toward Hoita, who sent them back four times, symbolizing the four times scouts were sent from Dog Den Butte to report on the condition of the Mandan whom Hoita believed to be starving. Each time the hunters, using the poles as spears, charged the Bulls, who were bleeding from many wounds. Wolf Chief explained that it was a very painful performance, as his legs were pierced in many places.

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[31] Six extinct clans were dropped from these rites while performing the ceremony at the Fort Clark villages.

[32] Many of the songs have words that are not understood. In this song only the words "Thunderbird Father" and "Mother Corn Mother" were recognized by the uninformed.

[33] In the mythology, when Hoita came from Dog Den Butte, where he had the animals imprisoned, and found his son officiating in Lone Man's village, he agreed to free the animals so that the people could hunt them and resolved that in the future he would work with Lone Man for the benefit of the tribe. Thereafter the two men assisted each other in directing the Okipa ceremony.

After the hunt, the Four Bulls stood at the entrance to the Okipa lodge and formed at the four cardinal points. Each bellowed in imitation of a bull in the following order, east, west, north, and south. Then the Hoita directed them to the sacred cedar, where each of the Bulls stood at the cardinal points and again bellowed, in the same order.[34] The Four Bulls represented the buffaloes from every direction as well as the buffaloes for the four seasons. The north buffalo called for the winter buffalo, the east buffalo for the spring buffalo, the south buffalo for the summer buffalo, and the west buffalo for the autumn buffalo.

After the calling of the buffaloes from the four directions was 796
completed, the remaining portion of the ceremony progressed 785
rapidly. The drummers began beating rapidly, and the hunters formed a circle about the sacred cedar, holding to the willow hoops. The Four Bulls threw off their masks and danced around the circle as rapidly as possible. Each remaining faster was led out of the Okipa lodge by two of his father's clansmen[35] who had the right half of their bodies painted blue and the left side red. They held straps wrapped around the faster's arms. Each faster had one or more buffalo skulls dragging from skewers fastened through the skin; those who had struck an enemy were permitted to wear a skull as a necklace. The father's clansmen led or

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[34] The sacred cedar represented Lone Man's body, and this act symbolized the eternal friendship of Lone Man and Hoita.

[35] Only men of good war records, who were entitled to paint as indicated above, could participate. The painting of the body in two colors, blue on the right side and red on the left side or comparable painting of leggings and shirt, indicated that one had killed an enemy far from home or had been the first or second to strike a lone enemy far from home.

796 785 dragged the young man around the sacred cedar in a clockwise direction as fast as they could travel until the victim fell unconscious. When the last faster fell to the ground, the drumming ceased, and the hunters threw their hoops into the air. All the fasters returned to the Okipa lodge, where those on the west-side moiety rubbed their wounds with buffalo marrow while those of the opposite moiety rubbed theirs with ground yellow corn.

796 The Lone Man carried all the knives and sharp-edged tools to the bank of the Missouri River, where they were thrown into the water as an offering to the Grandfather Snake. A few robes and seven corn balls were offered to the river at the same time.

A sweat ceremony, in which all the officers with their paraphernalia took part, completed the ceremony.

The goods collected by the Okipa Maker were given to the Lone Man, Hoita, Bulls, Drummers, Rattlers, to the characters represented during the "Everything Comes Back Day," and to the father's clansmen who prepared the Okipa Maker for the last ordeal. The Okipa Maker and the fasters made medicine bundles according to instructions received from the supernatural beings which had appeared to them during the ceremony, and each faster received a section of a sand-bar willow as an article for his personal medicine bundle.

The following description of the Okipa ceremony by Maximilian in 1834 will illustrate the character of the ceremony as performed at that time. Three years later smallpox killed roughly 80 per cent of the tribe, but the ceremony as described by eyewitnesses underwent only a few minor changes. The number of singers was reduced to three; a torture pole was erected south of the sacred cedar; the Bull Dancers were painted differently, the abdomen being painted with alternate stripes; there were fewer animal representatives on the third day due to the extinction of certain bundle lines. Except for these minor changes, the ceremony was essentially the same as performed in 1834. When the Mandan joined the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, men of the latter tribe sometimes gave the ceremony and bought minor offices, but the principal officers were Mandans. The supernatural beings enumerated by Maximilan are also readily identified from my informant's accounts.

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Of the Mandan ceremonies, Maximilan wrote:[1]

> The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.
>
> Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided.
>
> *First day of the Okippe.*—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water.[36] Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times,

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[36] Maximilian is in error. The turtle drums are oak frames over which buffalo hide is sewn to resemble turtles. Small balls of buffalo hair were placed inside the drums and represented the spirits of unborn buffaloes.

[1] [Maximilan's report has been processed for this file. see 6: Wied-Neuwied, cat. 111x116 —Analyst.]

600 wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance or procession takes place.

Second day of the Okippe.—On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woolen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The fore arm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead, hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, arch out two abreast in an inclined posture, extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right round the space. They again join opposite the medicine lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the centre of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except for an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over the eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance round him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.

Third day of the Okippe.—The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1. Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggings (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nose, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton

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yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.

While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zigzag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set; they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of the schischikue. Some already begin to suffer the tortures; they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are out about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.[37]

Maximilian goes on to report:

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object. They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf.[38] Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord

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[37] *Op. cit.*, pp. 324-33.

[38] He is the First Creator identified by Maximilian as the Omahank-Numakshi stated above. He has a dual personality.

000 of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

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A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told

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[39] *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

[40] Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river 773
until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on 539
the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.

There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay, it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

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[41] These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales. [198]

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

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[42] Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

[43] The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred-Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and

773 dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it 539 will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

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[44] This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

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[45] Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky 773 Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were 539 small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

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[46] Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. 428 Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or 787 expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers 864 of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional 785 instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of 787
these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting 869
done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa
custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. 785
Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking
that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom,
which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the bene- 785
fits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's 869
sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to se-
cure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that 796
it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an 614
occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and
state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there,
and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privi-
lege. The older male members of the various clans were espe-
cially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans
were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only
a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or 785
during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision.
Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed 787
to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-
being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast
at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the
serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not
made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly
after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experi- 785
ences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict 787
torture; and still others would make presents of valued property.
Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest 431
to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was 785
more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa cere- 171
monies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as
to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen
prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and
inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universal-
562 ly practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
304 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a rel-
765 ative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
765 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

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[1] This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

> When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his 787
> gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them 785
> back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

> When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began
> to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. [304]
> He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, 785
but included the other characters represented in the Sun
bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman 304
Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him.

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trap- 785
ping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan.

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

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[2] These were his father's gods.

[3] See chap. vii below.

785 lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

785 The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture
was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy
554 killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial
431 feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

785 Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. 785 He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia."

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to 785
him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine 787
days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to
him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going 159
to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and
bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you 223
white men are always working to get money.

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the 785
lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest
that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found 159
a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat
to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of 223
eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp.

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

785 top of my bait, and I stuckmy right hand out and caught him. He was a big
beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
159 Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and
walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him
223 into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I.
I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not haveto go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After thatthe leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or
animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
785 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he
will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right
159 or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird cerenony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for
the enemy that his god haspromised him. The leader is careful to do just as
159 he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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To Be Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Raven Turns (WaxikEna clan), Bear Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Short Bears Teeth (Tamisik clan), Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan), Tree Bark (Tamisik clan), and Crow (Prairie Chicken clan).

We met at Two Chief's lodge, since he was a brother-in-law of Crows Breast, one of the Old Wolves. We had enough bullboats in readiness to carry the party down the river. It was planned that the party should sing the songs belonging to the whole group[4] before leaving. All of us wore a white piece of cloth for a headgear and a white cloak reaching to the knees. While singing the songs, we made a noise by "hitting the mouth"; this brought a great crowd of onlookers. While we were singing, a heavy shower of rain fell, and water ran everywhere in small torrents. The leaders decided not to go that night; they would wait until the next evening just at sunset.

When the schedule was changed, each of us took up his medicine bundle and equipment and left the lodge. Upon reaching our earth lodge, I lay aside my medicine bag and moccasins and went out of the village to attend to my horses. While there I met an Hidatsa named Puts Away His Hair, who said he was organizing a war party of his own and wanted me to go along as a Young Wolf [scout].

He said, "When I was making the ceremony, my gods gave me one tepee at a place called Cedars Facing Each Other [southwest of the present town of Dickinson, North Dakota]."

When he said that, I was undecided what to do. I thought it over for a long time and finally decided to go with him as a Young Wolf. I had already left a bullboat with the other party. I prepared to leave immediately with the newly organized party. It did not take me long to get ready, since I had only to fetch my horse. My medicine bundle and moccasins were already packed for the other expedition I had planned accompanying. In a short time I plunged my horse into the muddy waters of the Missouri at a point just below the village and swam him to the opposite shore where we were to meet. It was late spring, and the river was quite high. Big Steal also changed over to this party.

We went to a sand bar to wait for the party. We were told that we would wait for him there, but we did not know who he meant. We later learned that they meant Four Bears, whom you are named after.

The leaders of Old Wolves were: Puts Away His Hair (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Sitting Elk (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Four Bears (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), and Shaved Forehead (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa). The others of the party were: Yellow Robe (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), Foolish Man (Tamisik clan, Louie Baker's brother, Mandan), Rattlesnake (Tamisik clan, Mandan), No Arm (Tamisik clan, Mandan), and Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan, nineteen years old, Mandan).

The route we took was a little east of the present post office of Defiance by Lake Gap [Mandan name]. There were plenty of antelope, and we had enough meat. Our route took us by Red Bank, where we made our first camp. From there we went directly toward the present site of the town of Dickinson and on the second night stopped on the river bottoms there. Next day we went on to Rose Bud Ground to the southwest. From our camp there, we climbed the grass-covered buttes from which we saw the hill called Home-of-the-Buffalo, the place where the animals were believed to come out. Some of the party decided to go there to look at the place. On reaching Home-of-Buffalo Hill some of us looked around for the blue clay used for painting our faces and known to be plentiful there. On top of the hill there was a deep crack in the ground, and we could see the buffalo spirits' tracks in there, for it was well packed down. On the west side we came to a great cavity half-full of bones. There were so many bones there I think the animals must have been killed by lightning.

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[4] I.e., society songs.

This was the same summer that Custer's party went through the country [1876]. Their army went just a little to the west of the hill and made a regular road. We went there to see their trail. When we came to where it went down to the Little Missouri River, we found skeletons of mules, wrecked and abandoned wagons, and much other material discarded by the army. Their trail was plain, so we followed it all the way to the Little Missouri. Just before crossing the Little Missouri, we went through rough country. There we found oats, clothing, and harness; it looked as though the men had spent a long time there making the road. We found good bridles, reins, and tents which we took. All of us were well supplied. From there we rode to Like-a-Chicken-Tail Butte. This was one of the places where we usually got red paint. All in the party said they would need it when they captured the one lodge. From there we followed the west bank of the Little Missouri River a ways, then crossed and camped on the bank, all the time going up the river. The country abounded with elk, antelope, and blacktail deer. We were never short of meat.

Soon we could see Cedars Facing Each Other Buttes. There we killed two elk, for we were afraid we might not find the tepee at once and might need meat while we were scouting around for it. There we built a sweat lodge and dried our meat in it with heated stones, for we did not dare shoot game when in the vicinity of the enemy. The scouts constantly traveled ahead of us, headed by Yellow Robe and assisted by Foolish Man and Rattlesnake. On the third day after drying the elk meat, they came back running to inform us that they had found where a tepee had been and that the coals were still hot. They said they could still see the place where the horses had been picketed.

When Puts Away His Hair reached the site of the tepee, he went to the west side of the tepee ring to fast and cry. He cried until the next noon.

Then he pointed to the Sun and said, "Old Man, what you have given me, you have also taken away." Then he turned to the Young Wolves and said, "Now, my Young Wolves, this is the place designated by my medicine. It would not be good policy to follow this enemy. We could catch him at his next stop but that would be beyond the authority given me by my medicine. I might be harmed and some of you Young Wolves might be killed. Young Wolves, I am going to turn back, but you may go on if you wish. Old Man gave me this lodge (one family), but now he has taken it back again."

When he made that decision, Sitting Elk[5] decided to go on as leader and took with him Yellow Robe, Foolish Man, and No Arm. They went on for one day when they found the camp fire again burning. Sitting Elk was leader, but he decided that in view of the fact that another had been given the lodge, it would be dangerous to them.

He said, "By the looks of things, the enemy is wise to us. I don't want to

[5] Hidatsa Hide-beating bundle-owner.

lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' 726
so I am going back." The others returned with him. 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural ex- 787
periences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that."

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-tor- 785
ture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scatter- 562
corn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers

785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow 787
to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times,
and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The 756
old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor 159
women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed
snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near
our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the 754
Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great
deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any ani- 159
mals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the 787
hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, 756
"You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people
doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and 159
moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

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[6] This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

[7] This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
756 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint
159 knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she
began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning.
She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from
the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine
song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked
with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or
maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the
stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a
person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often
159 heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then
that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
844 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman
159 they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which
must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she
would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another
a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in
the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and
she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional
time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
[841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their
menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman
during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned
in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two
of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die.
A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor
received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four
fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing
the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the
songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now,"
and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

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[8] Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

[9] Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

844 159 My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little.

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

755 752 Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Another time there was a battle at Like-a-Fishhook Village with the Sioux, and one of the warriors was shot in the abdomen with an arrow. The arrowhead hit a bone so that the shaft came out, leaving the arrow in his body. The man was very sick from the pain. His family called that anyone taking out the metal arrowhead would be paid a buffalo horse, two pack horses, a large tepee of twenty hides, a mule, a dress made of mountain-sheep hide and decorated with five hundred elk teeth, one war bonnet, and a pile of robes and blankets. Nobody came to remove the arrowhead so his wife put a pipe before Cherry Necklace[10] and Rattles Stone Like a Bell, holy men, and asked them to help. Both came to the wounded man's lodge.

Cherry Necklace got his powers years before when away eagle-trapping. He waded into a pond one evening to fast in quest of a god. There he cried all night until nearly morning when a bear came out of the water and led him into his den under the water. The bear showed him how to use medicine roots, gave him a song, and took him to a snake den where the snakes showed him how to poison people. Cherry Necklace always smoked alone, and it was said that anyone coming into his lodge while he smoked was poisoned. Sometimes he smoked with others, but there must be seven in the party. He poisoned through habit, not meanness, and everyone respected and feared him.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell fasted on Eagles Nest Hill[11] southeast of Washburn, and the eagles instructed him to make a holy pipe, and the Crane gave him the power to remove arrowheads and bullets.

Cherry Necklace[12] tried to get the arrowhead first. He thought he ought to put him to sleep, so he smoked his medicine roots, but the injured man was in too great pain to sleep. He thought he would try another way; he would put hot coals on his pipe stem. The bull-snake came out, and he asked the snake to go into the wound, but the snake's jaws were too weak to extract the point, so Cherry Necklace gave up.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell tried. He had two dried crane heads with the lower jaws attached and a stuffed crane. He tied one of the dry heads around the patient's neck and painted his face red. He put the other crane head around his own neck and painted his own face red also. He sang his medicine song which put the wounded man to sleep. While he was singing, the crane came alive and walked around the wounded man. As he was going to sleep, he heard the crane calling "Konix," and the medicine man answering "Konix" from the other side of the room. When he was asleep, the crane walked up to him, stuck his bill in the wound, using his bill as pinchers. After pulling several times, he succeeded in extracting the arrowhead. Matter and blood came out of the wound. Rattles Stone Like a Bell sent word through the village for the people to come to the river's edge and see the wounded man bathe. He led the sick man to the water, all the time singing the crane's song. They washed off the red paint and went back to the lodge. Rattles Stone Like a Bell took all the goods he had been promised, but he gave some to Cherry Necklace, who was the older man.

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[10] For other stories concerning this man see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 264–66.

[11] Another Eagle Nest Hill was south of Mandan, North Dakota.

[12] Cherry Necklace was a Hidatsa.

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine 755
of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bul- 752
lets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the 758
Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not
nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own 602
brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood." 614

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This 777
could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of 776
sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and 787
lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time
he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down 159
the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter
came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." 776
Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

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[13] Hidatsa Creek medicine.

[14] Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

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[15] The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

[16] This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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766 778 Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil.

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

787 554 785 795 All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for-

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554 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was con-
785 sidered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more
795 people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal
778 bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much
428 higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary
171 tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary
432 bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they
became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

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[17] A Hidatsa band.

Chapter VI

THE CORN CEREMONIES

THE Corn ceremonies were of two general groups based on their mythological backgrounds. Either because of purchase or other factors, possibly village union, the two separate ceremonies were consolidated during the memory of the older Mandan. One ceremony which was represented by two bundles was believed to have been performed when the tribe resided under the ground near the mouth of the Mississippi. In this land beneath the earth, the people lived a simple life, depending on corn for their sustenance. They were naked and had neither pottery nor bows and arrows. Their spiritual leader was Corn Father, who, by performing certain rites, caused the seed to germinate and grow, producing the mature plants and ripe corn. The whole tribe relied on him for supernatural guidance. The growing plant was a symbol of his power, and it was believed that the seed would not grow without his rites. 796 773

When the people began to come to the surface of the earth by means of a grape vine, the leader of the Corn ceremonies was at the back of the line and was separated from his three sons, Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, and Uses His Head for Rattle, and a daughter named Waving Corn Stalk, when the vine was broken by the weight of a woman heavy with child. Calling to his children who had reached the earth, he instructed them to continue the rites as they had seen him perform them. The ceremonial myth from that point traces out the traditional migrations of the tribe, the acquisition of new tools and skills, and the founding of the Black Mouth and Goose societies. In the myth, Good Furred Robe, being the oldest brother, took the leading part. This myth was closely interwoven with the Okipa myth.[1]

After the tribe had completed its migrations and had reached

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[1] See Creation Myth narrated by Chief to his son-in-law, Wolf Chief (chap. iv).

796 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached
773 the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred
778 Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe
and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kitfox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the
773 bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15,
778 since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made
from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to 796
Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The 773
bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies.

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kitfox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all [515]
earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite.

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was own- 778
er of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 796

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owned the Skull bundle. The former was a Mandan woman of the Nuptadi band, and the latter was a descendant of the small Awaxawi band of Hidatsa. Scattercorn had been told by her father that a long time ago the two bundles belonged to one man and were kept together. They were inherited together, generation after generation, until one owner had two sons who wanted the Corn ceremony rights when the bundle was divided, one taking the robe and the other the skulls. Eventually the Skull bundle was taken to a west-side village of the Heart River group, where it remained until the smallpox epidemic of about 1782, when it was brought northward by the Mandan, finally becoming the principal Corn ceremony bundle of Mi'tutanka Village, where it was owned by a Mandan named Red Bird at the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

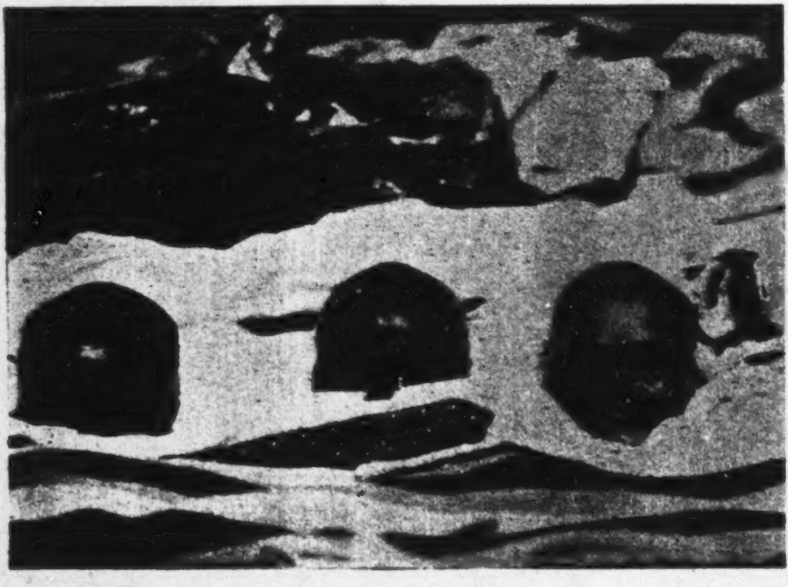

FIG. 24.—Skull bundle of the Corn ceremonies. Characters: Good Furred Robe Cornhusk Earring, and Uses Head for Rattle.

The Robe bundle belonged to the east-side Mandan who migrated from the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth villages and established a village between Mi'tutanka and the Knife River Hidatsa villages. The bundle became associated with the Nup-

tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic 796
of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different 778
owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2]

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform- [616

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[2] Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous. 428]

[3] Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

796 778 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 425 432 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

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[4] There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The 778
desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either 425
from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was 432
made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of 796
Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her 778
father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. 554
Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

796 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring
778 down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost
articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal
554 guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of
796 the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village
778 when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

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[5] See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums. 796 778

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life. 796 778

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES 159

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

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[6] The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

[7] Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the
person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

778 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner
of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought
159 those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be
large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to
take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating
were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products
241 or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose
Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were
growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he
lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the
784 next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the 778
fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said 241
that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn 784
bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer,
carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn 796
medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance
and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household 782
brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by 241
the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of 778
other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn [439]
might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He
dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken [251]
to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored
corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the 241
significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in
their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture 361
has played an important role in shaping the habits of these 796
people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

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CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

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[8] For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have."

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

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Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

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Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river fom Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling

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[9] For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

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up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye,

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[10] One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

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which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

773 When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

539 The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman.

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him.She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

773 to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

539 After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

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[11] This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

[12] See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

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[13] He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.

[14] This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

796 223 171 CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

796 223 346 Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

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[1] For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

[2] For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

[3] Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams 796
(see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, 223
only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country 346
(see Fig. 28).

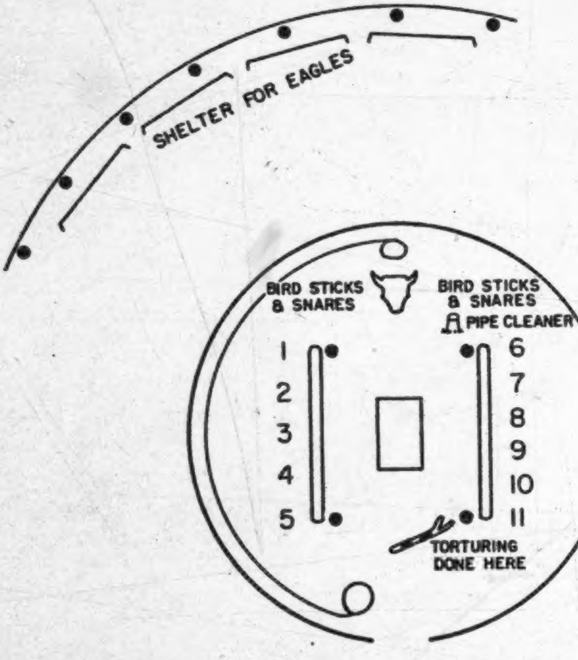

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information 796
on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their 435
value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great 796
antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the 223
Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the 172
sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied

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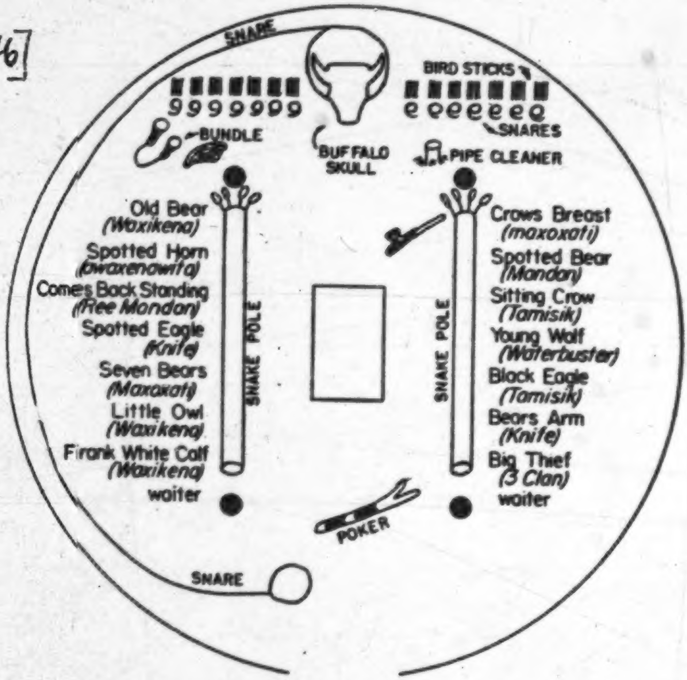
SNARE
BIRD STICKS
9999999
eeeeeee
SNARES
BUNDLE
BUFFALO SKULL
PIPE CLEANER
Old Bear (Waxikena)
Spotted Horn (owaxenowita)
Comes Back Standing (Ree Mandan)
Spotted Eagle (Knife)
Seven Bears (Maxoxati)
Little Owl (Waxikena)
Firank White Calf (Waxikena)
waiter
SNAKE POLE
SNAKE POLE
Crows Breast (maxoxati)
Spotted Bear (Mandan)
Sitting Crow (Tamisik)
Young Wolf (Waterbuster)
Black Eagle (Tamisik)
Bears Arm (Knife)
Big Thief (3 Clan)
waiter
POKER
SNARE

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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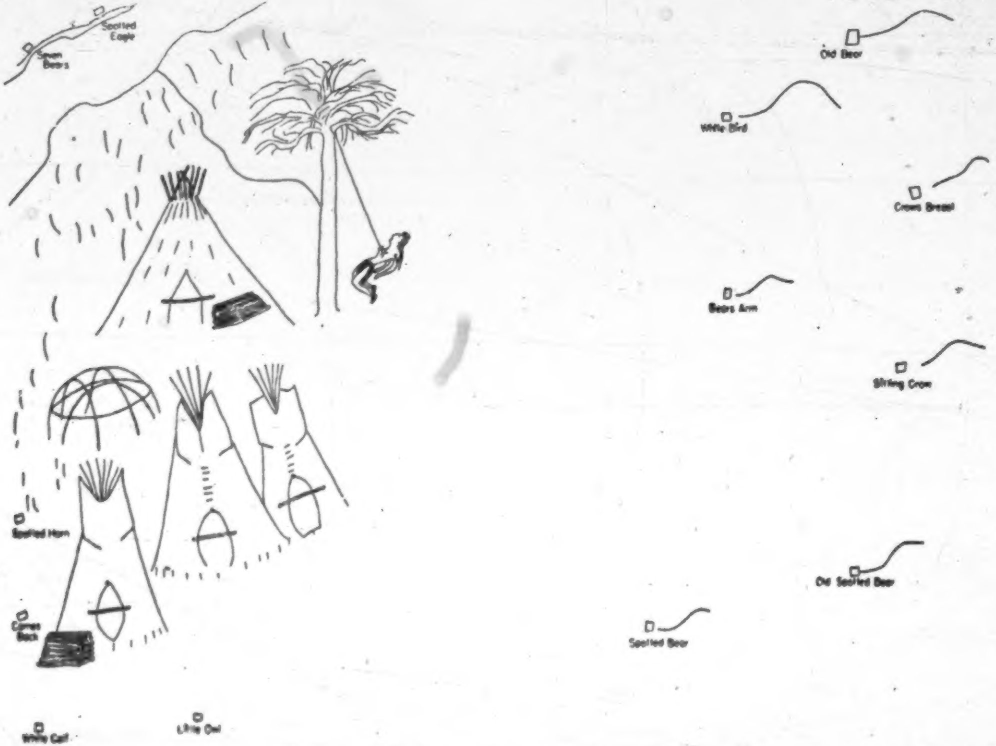
Spotted Eagle
Seven Bears
Old Bear
White Bird
Crows Breast
Bears Arm
Sitting Crow
Old Spotted Bear
Spotted Bear
Spotted Horn
Crows Back
White Calf
Little Owl

FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

796 223 167 648 they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

796 223 425 614 Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

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[4] This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

[5] No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own 796
lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping 223
sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent 425
ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. 614
The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the
death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission
to use a particular site for a season from one of a different
clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself,
but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could
not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site [427]
from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When
a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known,
another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced
over claims ~~to sites~~, since a violator would have been
severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, [784]
since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied
major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser
could never have attained a position of prominence in either
tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa 796
were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within
the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) 171
illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other 778
in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small 223
Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was 796
only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was 778
transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. 223
The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

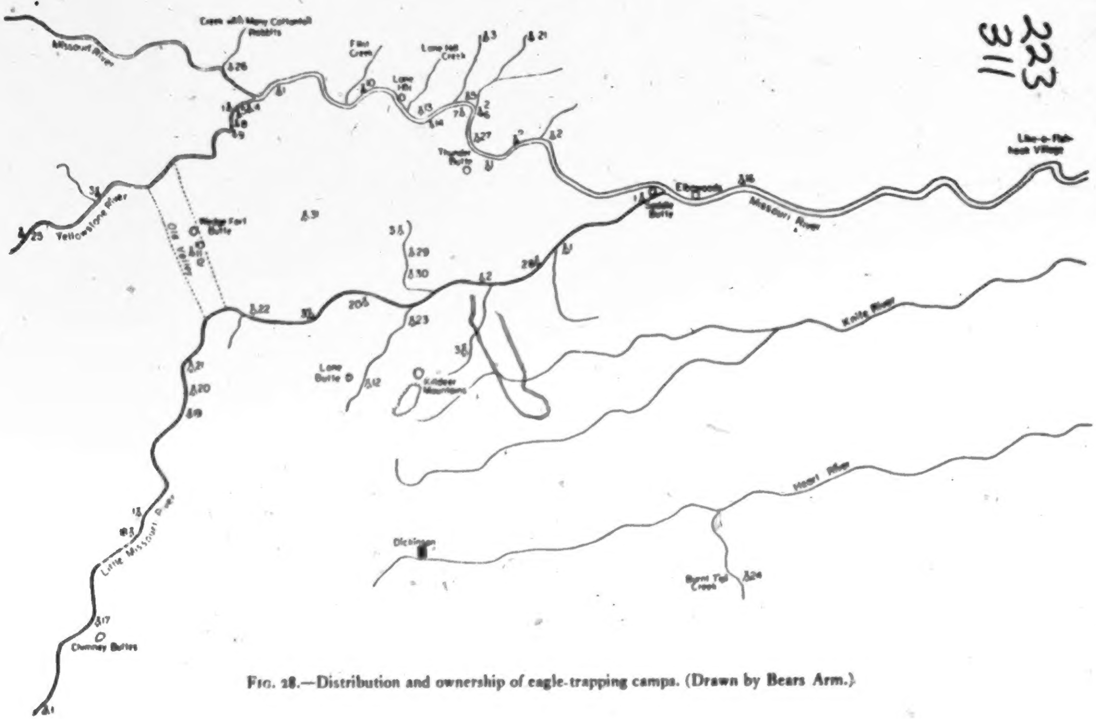
Missouri River
Creek with Many Cottontail Rabbits
Flint Creek
Lone Hill Creek
Lone Hill
Thunder Butte
Like-a-Fishhook Village
Yellowstone River
Old Valley
Wedge Fort Butte
Sentinel Butte
Elbowoods
Missouri River
Knife River
Lone Butte
Killdeer Mountains
Heart River
Dickinson
Burnt Tail Creek
Little Missouri River
Chimney Buttes
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Fig. 28.—Distribution and ownership of eagle-trapping camps. (Drawn by Bears Arm.)

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KEY TO FIGURE 28

OWNERS OF EAGLE-TRAPPING CAMPS, THEIR TRIBE AND CLAN

1, Iron Eyes, Mandan, WaxikEna; *2*, Small Ankles, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *3*, Belly Up, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *4*, Little Shield, Mandan, WaxikEna; *5*, Brave, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *6*, Four Bears, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *7*, Guts, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *8*, Bad Buffalo, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *9*, Old Black Bear, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *10*, Poor Wolf, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *11*, Good Bear, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *12*, Good Walker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *13*, Crows Paunch, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *14*, Enemy Dog, Mandan, WaxikEna; *15*, Cedar, Mandan, WaxikEna; *16*, Road Maker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *17*, Hairy Coat, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *18*, Raven Wing, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *19*, Plain Tail (Big Coat), Hidatsa, Low Hat; *20*, Bad Coat, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *21*, Old Bear, Mandan, WaxikEna; *22*, Wolf Eyes, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *23*, His Horse Smells Him, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *24*, Red Basket, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *25*, Runs, Hidatsa (clan not known); *26*, Coyote, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *27*, Bears Tail, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *28*, Little Coyote (he would come up from Awaxawi Village at Knife River to trap here; this is probably a mythological camp); *29*, Bad Robe, Mandan, Tamisik; *30*, Bears Foot, Mandan (clan not known); *31*, Makes Everything Good, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken.

796 the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a
778 limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going
223 into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could
then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

796 Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology
778 and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that
424 supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became
authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

796 Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a
773 mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies
223 occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping
was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the 796
Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of 773
Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; 223
and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fishhook Village.

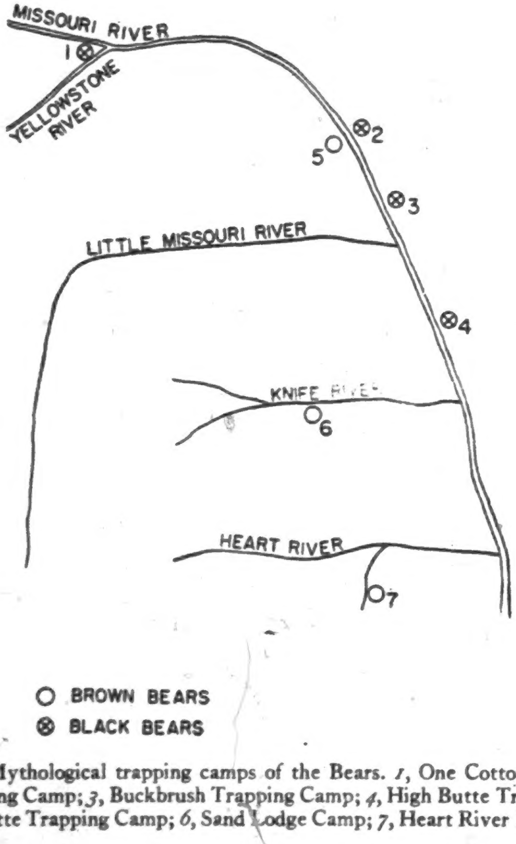

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for 796
a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. 773
The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms
to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought 776
to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
773 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the
776 contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-
trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear,
Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
773 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it
776 was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the
swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one in autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Ben-
539 son, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, sup-
plied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF)
RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

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[6] Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

[7] A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

[8] For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidsata Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

[9] One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

[10] The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

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lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

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[11] This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

[12] This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

[13] The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage be brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

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[14] This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

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The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the

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[15] Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. 773
After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over
his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and 539
put it before me where I am sitting."

He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine   take of them   a part (portion)
take of them   they are holy

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we

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[16] This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

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fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

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[17] The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites.

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EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS)

RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

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[18] For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214-16.

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creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The

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eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out, repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

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[19] Song of the pit.

[20] This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

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[21] Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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> Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small 539
> Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull.
> He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson
> came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the
> snake.[23]

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked 778
differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The 223
former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from 171
individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single
instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the 425
instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected 778
by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it 425
was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the 171
relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for 423
several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother 223
before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 778
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[22] He means the principal bundle.

[23] See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle
transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a 223
sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. 778
When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive 475
presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. 159
He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

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[24] Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

[25] Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

223 people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the
778 picture of the things that they offered.

425 Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and in-
159 quired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

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[26] The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

> Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not 223
> like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot- 778
> in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old
> Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old 425
> pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is 159
> all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back.

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both 778
tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother 425
of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe.

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party 223
depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced

223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leader and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These 223
were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The 346
camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership 778
was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it.

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new 223
territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it 346
resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies.

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty 223
was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of 346
the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were 778
banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were

223 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Be-
346 fore the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but
778 these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession
of horses became general.

223 When returning to a site that had been used the former year,
796 the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their
place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

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[27] The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

[28] Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identi- 223
fied with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry 796
branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar.

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. 223
When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely nec- 425
essary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 423

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[29] See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

> When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.
>
> When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.
>
> It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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poles. Now, Bear on the Flat has asked the snakes to let them touch the poles, and the snakes came in a dream and gave him permission.

In mythological times Black Bear was alive and sat at the left side of the entrance, but in later years they put a bear skull and hide down. Now, they merely imagine that he is there, and in place of him put a skin on the altar.

The sun was represented on the back standard or crosspiece by a hoop of twisted wheat grass and a chokecherry twig to hang it on. The cherry represents the speckled eagle. At the front on a crosspiece was a twisted grass hoop on a juneberry twig, the hoop representing the moon and the twig the black-tipped eagle.

When an eagle is caught, it is to be brought in on the left side of the door. Short gray sage will be used to smoke the bird. Then the bird is thrown toward the buffalo skull, whether the bird is dead or alive.

When the first eagle is caught, it is put next to Post 1,[30] and a ball of parched corn is given to the bird and its blessing asked. Afterward each member of the party partakes of the corn.

Koicita is the name of the head man or Old Male Black Bear. If the party is large, he does not trap but keeps the lodge fire burning. Then he is not expected to go into the pits. In case the hunters are out after game because of adverse winds and the winds change to the west, he can go into any of their pits. Crows Heart is the Map'si or Chief of the Hunters and gets his orders from the Koicita. He should stay at Post 2[31] and receive eagles when brought in; also he should supply the camp with meat.

Evenings the party is expected to go into the sweat lodge, and each has his own place there. When in the sweat lodge, anyone can put in the rocks, but the same order of naming the rocks is carried out; when putting in the first rock, he says, "This is the mother of birds." He says for the second stone, "This is the child of the mother of birds." For the third he says, "This is the oldest bird." For the fourth he says, "This is the genuine speckled eagle." The rest of the stones are thrown in without ceremony.

It is believed that when the birds are ready to come southeast, they send a scout ahead to see if there is a lodge. If there is one, it peeps into the lodge. If it sees the offering on the twelve bird poles, it goes back to the land of the birds and tells what it saw. Then the birds know that the people of that lodge are showing respect for them, while the people know that all the sky-gods will be gathering around that lodge. That is the reason only those who know the proper ceremonies to the gods gathering there can be at the head of eagle-trapping.

During the mythological period, Buffalo said to Black Bear, "I am always lucky. Place me at the head of the lodge, and you will be the owner of some fine eagle down." Since that time, whenever a bird is caught, some of its down is given to the Black Bear hide near the buffalo skull.

A buffalo-bull horn is used to throw water on the rocks of the sweat lodge. Only those who buy the rights can make a sweat. Bear on the Flat bought his rights from his father. The bird poles are used to poke the fire as well as for pulling coals from the fire for the pipe. The gods are like humans; some are jealous, while others are good to the people and work for their welfare.

A rock is put into the trapping pit. If you get sleepy, put it under your

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[30] The post next to which the leader sits (see plan of lodge, Fig. 26).

[31] Opposite the leader.

796 head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

223 When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

796 223 773 When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

Water flow into the kettle.
Fire burn round the kettle.
Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223 825
2. Speckled Eagle.
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

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[32] This was done because the pit was sacred.

223 from the rim were undesirable because birds flew past the bait before seeing it and frequently did not come down. Certain pits were known to be better than others because of their proper location in respect to the contour of the hill and because of an unobstructed view westward for many miles.

223 425 829 Even in localities visited annually, ancient pits were discovered from time to time. Anyone finding an old pit, if within reasonable distance of a trapping camp, could appropriate it for his use, in which case it became the property of the leader under whom the trapper served. It was not necessary to perform the rites at the ~~pit when~~ reopening the pit, as it was assumed that such rites had been performed originally when the pit was dug. It was both Mandan and Hidatsa belief that all tribes trapping eagles had similar rites. During this study, in an effort to learn the extent of knowledge concerning eagle-trapping by neighboring tribes with whom these two tribes were in constant contacts, Crows Heart was asked if he knew whether the Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Sioux had ceremonies associated with eagle-trapping. His reply was that he was positive that they did and that both the rites and songs were the same as for his people. When inquiry was made relative to the source of his information whether from attending their trapping expeditions or from information supplied by Indians of these various tribes, his reply was that he had never been out with Indians of any tribe other than the Mandan and Hidatsa, neither had he discussed the matter with Indians of neighboring tribes, but that "it was common sense that they used the same ceremonies, as all eagle-trapping came from the Black Bears, otherwise these neighboring tribes would never have caught eagles." He then added, "If the ceremonies had been omitted, or improperly conducted, the Indians not only would never have caught eagles but other bad luck would have befallen them." This example illustrates the unreliability of information secured from an informant relative to a society of which he is not a part.

223 Whenever advice was needed, the trapper consulted the leader and paid him for his services. The leader usually supervised construction of the cover for the pit. Six poles were crossed and tied as illustrated in Figure 30. This framework was called the "buffalo's backbone." To these poles were tied buckbrush and

long grass, while short grass such as grew around the pit was scattered over the cover so as to destroy all evidence of the pit[33] (Fig. 36).

Various baits were used. The most popular bait was a stuffed jackrabbit skin. The animal was skinned with the head left on, and the hide was stuffed with grass, sage leaves, or buffalo hair so as to resemble a live rabbit. Some hunters used a coyote skin

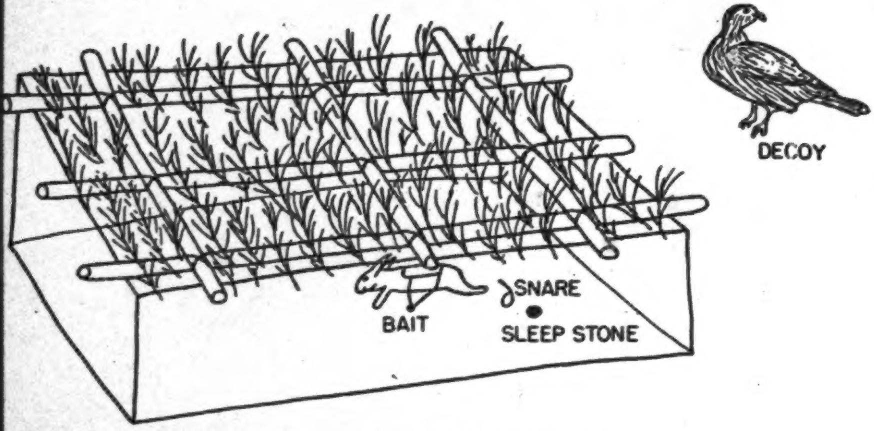

Fig. 30.—Plan of eagle-trapping pit

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[33] From my observations when on one of these expeditions, unusual precautions were taken, when preparing the pits, that none of the rules was violated. Bear on the Flat often referred to instances when the trapper had been carried away to find himself in a strange country. Snakes were known to come into the pits, and there was always the possibility that wild animals would come that way and fall onto the trapper. When preparing my pit, Bear on the Flat sang the song to the pit and asked the pit not to send me bad luck. The earth was carried to the east and scattered so that birds flying in from the west would not see it. Bear on the Flat asked the Holy Women for wood for the cover which was ash. Before cutting the buckbrush, he approached the brush with a sage, making motions of driving away the spirits. The buckbrush was tied to the framework. I was treated with a very unpleasant surprise when the frame was ready for the grass covering. I was directed to a low plain about five hundred feet below to secure the grass, although there was an abundance of the same plants on the hill where the pit was located. Putting the grass into place on the covering to conceal the pit without destroying the trapper's view of the sky was the finest piece of camouflaging I have ever observed. First he placed a fine carpet of grass over the buckbrush. Then he would take a few grass stems at a time and cast them like darts into the mat so that they stood up like uncut grass until the entire mat was covered. When he had finished, I observed that the grass on the cover waved with the grass surrounding the pit. The pit was so well concealed that a stake was driven into the ground to mark the northwest corner. One entered the pit by lifting a corner and sliding in feet first. Except for the obstruction by the ash poles, the sky was plainly visible as well as any birds within the angle of vision.

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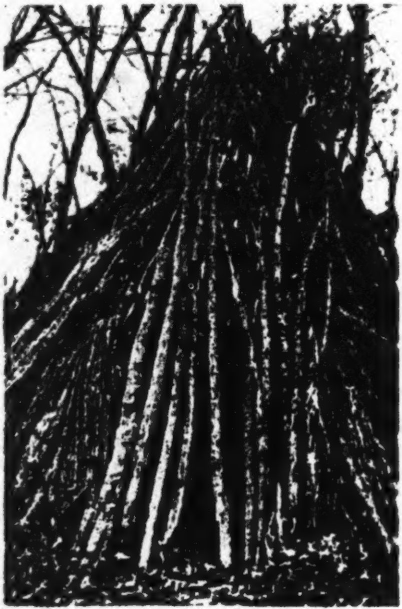

FIG. 31.—Vacated lodge[1] with closed door

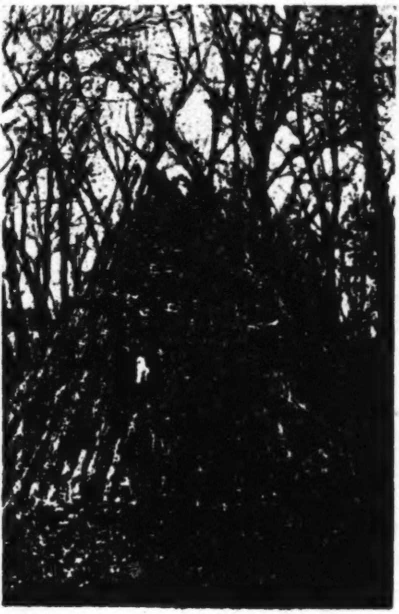

FIG. 32.—Lodge when repaired and ready for occupation.

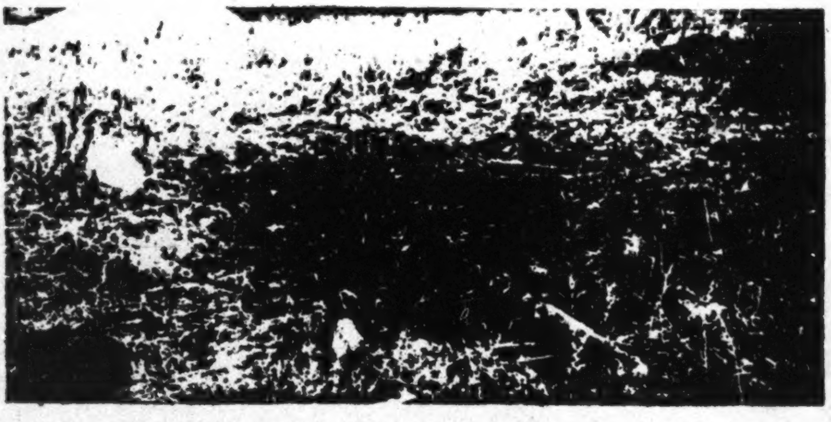

FIG. 33.—Pit with framework and buckbrush covering completed

[1] [Ceremonial lodge used during eagle trapping expedition – Analyst.]

[p. 242]

223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

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[787]
Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

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[34] Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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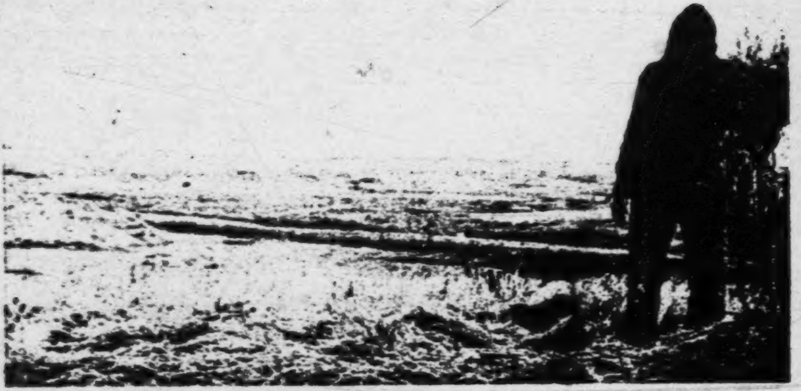

Fig. 34.—Pit when covered and Bear on Flat

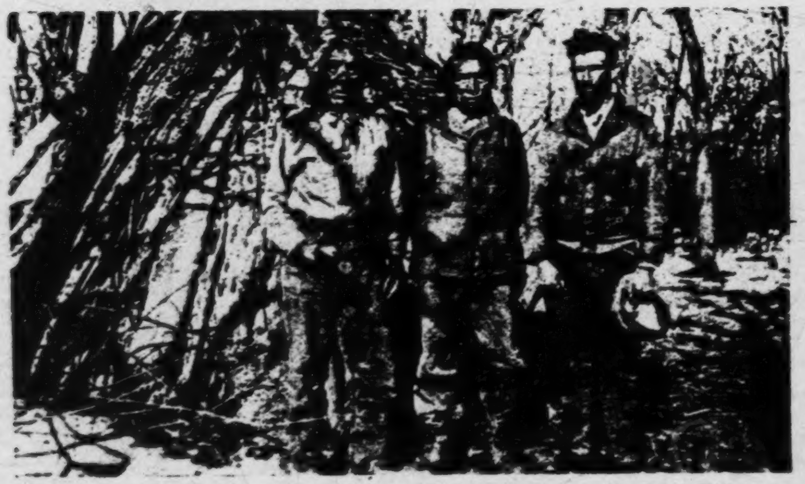

Fig. 35.—Bear on Flat, Crows Heart, and the writer at eagle-trapping site

Fig. 36.—View of territory where eagle-trapping sites were situated

[p. 244]

ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were 796
completed. 223

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle- 785
aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out 223
before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind
must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the [825]
birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow

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[35] See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

[36] Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many 825
creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks,
ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. 773
This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers.

223 ditch wide enough to permit the trapper to reach out his right hand was then dug to the bait. A short stick was kept in the pit to punch away hawks and magpies. The trapper sat down in the pit and fitted the cover into place. The fiber snare was hung on a peg pressed into the west wall, and the "sleep stone," a small stone about three inches in diameter, was set on the east wall.[37]

When eagles flying by saw the bait, they usually circled around the hill a few times before coming down to light a short distance from the bait and walk up to it. Rarely did birds light directly on the bait. As soon as the bird reached the bait, the trapper thrust out his right hand, seized the leg, and pulled the bird down toward the ground. Ben Benson, who owned full trapping rights, said that he always gave his trappers this instruction:

> When the eagle comes to the bait, it will be so close that you can see it through the grass covering over the pit. Use your right hand and catch the leg closest to you. Pull the bird down toward the ground, not toward you. Put out the left hand and get the other leg. Hold both legs with the left hand and put the right hand out and swing one wing over against the other. Hold both wings together at the tips, and the bird can't hurt you. Tie the feet together then. Eagles are strong and fierce. They can stick their claws through your hand, pick your face, or cut your face with their wings. Don't catch bald-headed eagles; they are fierce and will fight.

Live eagles, when used as decoys, were staked down at the southeast corner of the pit. Benson never allowed more to be kept alive than the number of trappers. Some leaders required the trappers to kill their birds as soon as they were caught. Decoys were carried to the pits while trapping; other times they were kept in the bird shelter on the west side of the ceremonial lodge. Whenever an eagle flew by the pit, the decoys whistled, attracting the other bird's attention to the bait and warning the man in the pit.

796
223 Ceremonial crying when approaching the lodge with an eagle was practiced by all leaders. If the bird caught was a young black-tipped bird, crying continued all the way to the door of the lodge. Crying stopped when about one hundred and fifty paces from the lodges if a spotted golden eagle, the parent of a black tip, was being brought to camp. For a white-headed

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[37] When excavating an old pit for Crows Heart in 1932, we found a stone near the south wall, and a perforated clam shell used for paint was on a shelf dug in the east wall.

eagle, crying stopped at a considerable distance from camp. The bird was taken in at the left side of the lodge. Women around camp went into their lodges and covered their heads while birds were being brought into camp.

The leader did not have a trap but stayed around camp while the trappers were out in order to be ready to receive the birds as they were brought in by the men at sunset. When crying continued until the lodge was reached, the leader knew that a young calumet eagle had been caught. Coals were placed near the front right post, and sage was burned there as incense for the snare and other sacred objects.

A song was addressed to the snare, announcing to it that it had caught something. A second song[38] addressed to the people by Black Bear referred to the sacredness of the birds in the opinion of the people, a belief not shared by the bears. A third song referred to the coming feast when the bird was to be eaten.

The trapper announced the kind of bird, after which it was pushed violently through the left side of the doorway, moving the hide-door covering sufficiently to get the bird through. The twelve tail feathers which had been removed beforehand were tied together and placed on the bird's back as it was taken in the lodge, part way to the altar, and thrown violently at the snare on the altar. The leader produced a corn ball from which a small piece was broken and rubbed on the bird's beak saying, "Acira[39] feeds you." The ceremonial pipe was produced, and the bird's beak was touched with the pipe as an offering to the bird.

When the first eagle was brought in, Iron Eyes extracted five white down feathers from his bundle; two were offered to the snake poles, one to the sun snare, one to the moon snare, and one to the buffalo skull. The leader directed the successful trapper to carry his bird to the back of the lodge, as the lodge was too sacred even for so sacred a creature as an eagle.

The trappers returned to the ceremonial lodge at sunset carrying their baits on their back. As soon as a trapper came into the lodge, the waiter gave him food which had been brought

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[38] When the bears instructed Black Wolf in the art of eagle-trapping, they explained that the people considered the eagles sacred, but not so with the bears, who considered them their favorite food.

[39] Some bundles had a bear's foot, in which case the leader said, "Footbone feeds you."

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked.
Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered sugges-
tions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but
would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used.
Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait,
and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would
538 be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in
camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited
562 women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside.
(2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women
were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge
and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of
the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were sepa-
rate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating
woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more 223
prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and 562
that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that 841
some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's 171
right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's
assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was 223
given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants 224
thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader 223
when selecting the places for the men when first entering the 224
lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black 773
Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the 223
summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any 224
tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

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[40] See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

[41] Their medicine was the arrow.

[42] See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and [581] hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers 621
returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years,
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, 621
except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a winter 171
chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trapping
bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing 621
after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

223 796 a brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essentially the same for all bundle-owners. Ben Benson's ritual, which he received of Iron Eyes, was explained as follows.

BEN BENSON'S NARRATIVE OF CLOSING RITES

When ice began to form along the edges of small creeks, the men knew that it was time to stop trapping eagles. Usually three to eight weeks were spent trapping. The leader was in full charge of the expedition, and no one knew when he would order the trapping stopped. Early on the day trapping was to stop, the leader would kindle the fire and say, "Get up. There is a big flood coming." This meant that they must stop trapping, for when the flood comes there is no changing its course. Those who had never been out before did not know the meaning, but the old trappers knew that the time had come to return home.

After eating, the leader would say, "It is time now to kill all your live eagles. Kill them with Rope-in-Wood Snare. Carry all your eagles over the hill [he then designated the place] and put them in a row. Then you should make an offering of calico[43] to them."

By the time this had been done and the trappers had returned to camp, the leader had his eagle-trapping bundle closed and the women had their tepees down, ready to break camp.

One of the party, usually the man with the best war record, was sent out by the leader "to see if there are any enemies in the neighborhood." He went to the place where the dead eagles were lined up and returned in a hurry to report that there were a certain number of enemies just beyond the hill. [The number reported corresponded with the dead birds counted.] The trappers prepared for battle, painted their faces, dressed lightly, and put their hair up in a ball on top of their heads where it would not cover their eyes. Each trapper sang his personal sacred song and wore some article from his sacred bundle. At a signal from the leader, all charged the "enemies," shooting and calling as they ran. Each seized a bird and cut off the wings and five body feathers, running back to camp as quickly as possible.

The party moved away from camp immediately and stopped to make camp again after traveling a mile or more. The young men built a sweat lodge under the leader's direction, while the women prepared food. The sweat-lodge entrance was to the south. The trappers placed the wing and tail feathers they had secured on the west side of the fireplace, while the leader stood at the entrance to the sweat lodge with his eagle-trapping bundle on one side and a bundle of sage on the other.

223 796 533 The leader began by chanting four wordless songs and then, half-singing, half-talking, he addressed the eagles in these words:

> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte;[44] there you will find antelope meat;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte; there you will find antelope meat.

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[43] In early times a strip of soft tanned elkhide was used.

[44] Birds Bill Butte, better known today as Eagle Nose Butte, is a high promontory south of Mandan, North Dakota.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you; 223
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you; 796
Go; walk; go in the right direction; 533
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations. 223 796

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg; 223 778

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[45] The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

[46] The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

[47] The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

[48] The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix). [823]

223 778 (3) Round Clouds; (4) White around the Arms; (5) Fills His Lodge; (6) White Finger Nails; (7) Blind; (8) Berdache; (9–10) not able to recall their names; (11) White Finger Nails, WaxikEna clan; (12) Arrowhead Earrings, WaxikEna clan; (13) Iron Eyes, WaxikEna clan; and (14) Ben Benson, Tamisik clan.

Two accounts of eagle-trapping by Bears Arm were recorded in their entirety, without interruption by the writer, in order to determine what the informant considered the essentials of trapping. These are to be found in the Appendix. It was evident after this study had continued some time that special emphasis was given to certain aspects of a ceremony while other sections of the ritual received little attention. In the two eagle-trapping accounts it will be noted that Bears Arm emphasized these points: (1) the leader and persons attending; (2) the preparation of the ceremonial lodge, pits, and baits; (3) the seating arrangement and officers; (4) the differences in ritual between bundle-owners; (5) the number of birds caught and the names of the successful trappers; (6) the torturing of the trappers; and (7) the final cleansing rites.

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping 226
bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin 796
from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap 773
in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could 789
catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made 223
simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at 226
a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. 424
A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, 226
catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in 262
ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that consider- 172
able use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in 226
the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard 796
with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to 778
the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used. 424

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

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[1] Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

226 2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe
796 bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle,
424 and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

778 5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

226 When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought
424 at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones.
425 I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me[3] instead, for I have the right to them." 226 424 425

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[2] Crows Heart's father's moiety.

Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each pole should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be 226

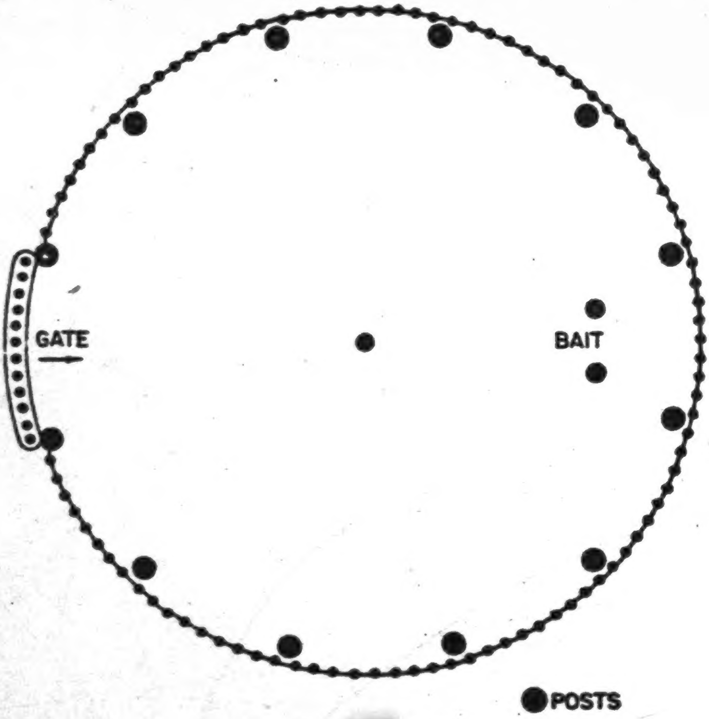

FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the water, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

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[3] This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

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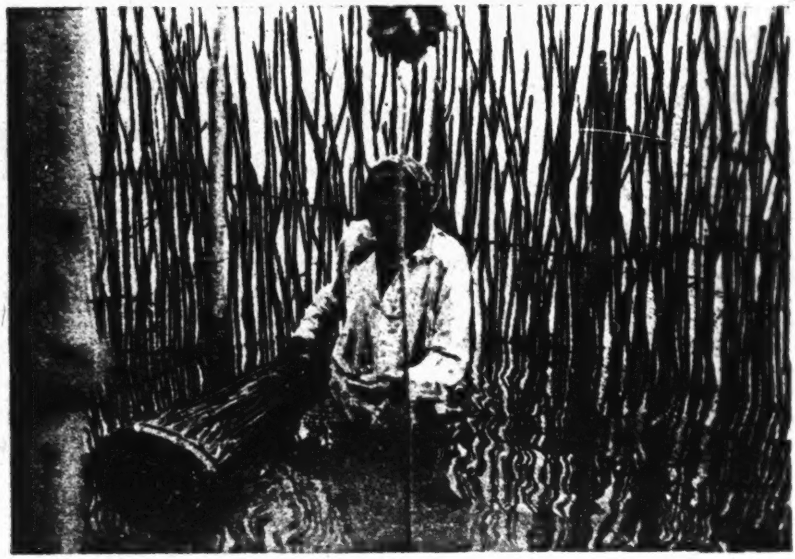

FIG. 38.—Black Bear inside the catfish trap with one of the fish baskets. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

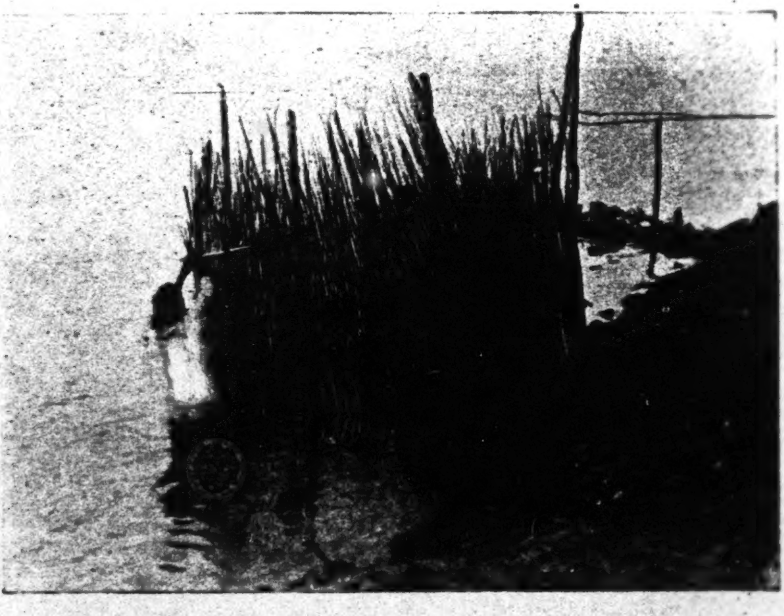

FIG. 39.—Black Bear closing the diamond willow gate. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

[p.258]

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best place to locate a trap is downstream from a point of projecting land or driftwood where the water is not too swift. The fish stop in the deep quiet water. The water must come up to one's armpits, for the traps must be set in deep water to catch the large fish.

We tie willow stems with the leaves on all the way round the trap at the level of the water so that any loose bait will not float away. The door was made of willows tied together, and the entrance was downstream. When the river bottom was sloping or there were branches imbedded in the sand, we smoothed the bottom and carried out all the wood before setting the trap down.

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four
773 groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunder-
821 bird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow
778 (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Med-
773 icine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan)
[614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth
539 of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

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[1] For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53-62.

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by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

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[2] The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

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They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time.

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this."

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head upon dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

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[3] This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it."

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit, for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

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[4] In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

[5] These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

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[6] The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.

[7] One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 421 425 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

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[1] The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

[2] This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married 778
to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights 421
in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and
the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases 425
were made only after several years of married life, as it [777]
was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to
quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in [292]
the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair,
and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited 796
the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he 773
lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin 778
Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon
where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large 773
earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. 773
In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 772

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband." 773

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[3] Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives." 539

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

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[4] The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could distinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
But his mother is silly about her son.
Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.]

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.'"

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his

[5] He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said.

Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found.

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

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[6] She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

[7] So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value."

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle. They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking
778 rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made
796 four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

778 - The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of
411 the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

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[1] Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred 796
myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the 778
right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by
certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living 411
informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early 796
times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply.
People without the rights were not allowed to stand around 424
when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making 463
was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter 796
and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. 224
Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner 796
and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

796 own and his wife's age-grade societies. During the period of preparation the bundle-owner came to the giver's lodge to instruct in the ceremony and to burn incense near the goods to be given away.

The ceremony was performed during four nights. The approach to the ceremonial lodge was made by four stages. At each stop the giver's wife came over to the group of performers led by the bundle-owner and placed on the ground a buffalo hide with a corn ball and a black stone pipe on it. The robe was taken by one of the party. The party advanced in single file, led by the bundle-owner, with the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte following just behind him. The third in line was the impersonator of the men in Dog Den Butte.

The fourth and last stop was at the door of the Okipa lodge. Men owning bundles containing buffalo skulls were eligible to attend and to sit on the right side of the lodge.

Usually a large number of clan brothers availed themselves of this opportunity to bring their wives and to receive the blessings of the older men. Each such participant brought additional goods for the occasion. The young men's wives were dressed only in their robes, while the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte wore a short buffalo robe with the hair side out. A small turtle shell was tied in place over her pudendal region.

The bundle-owner officiated as singer. The older men, representing buffalo bulls, and the woman, representing Buffalo Woman, were the only ones to dance. At the close of each
[837] dance, a young woman would approach a man of her husband'
father's clan selected by her husband and ask him to walk with her. He could buy himself off by praying for the success of the young woman and her husband and receive goods or go outside the village for intercourse. Food was passed around from time to time until late in the night when all returned to their respective lodges. The second and third nights' performance was the same as on the first. On the fourth night, the Woman Living in Dog Den Butte presented the giver with a bow and lance before termination of the dances and the man[2] near the door promised the group that all the bad luck to warriors fighting near Dog

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[2] Big Turtle (also called Black Panther), who represented the Hoita in the Okipa ceremony, held this office by virtue of his position in that ceremony.

Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then 796
cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods.

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, repre- 796
senting Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the 778
Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance.

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) ar- 778
row-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe.

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which 778
had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the Waxi- 425
kEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related 614
items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle.

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

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[3] Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

[4] The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

778 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4,
425 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman
614 rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles
539 along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

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[5] Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference

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but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and woman prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

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[6] Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igiį̄'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very

pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should 773
shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a
prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances 539
toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and

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[7] In order these women were: White-Tail Deer. Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

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screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat"
or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle
778 lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old
Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites
782 to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed
776 for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

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[1] Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The presence 782
of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, surviving 776
the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure information 778
about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of 124
death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

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[2] Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

778 425 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 755 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 425 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

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[3] Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses 838
like a woman.

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to 776
smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman,
and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have 553
the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother,
Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree
from the Bear.

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy 778
Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell 776
bundle.

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with [753]
rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those
thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People [828]
Above bundle.

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the
bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him." 173

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In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair.

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The flea will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

773 539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

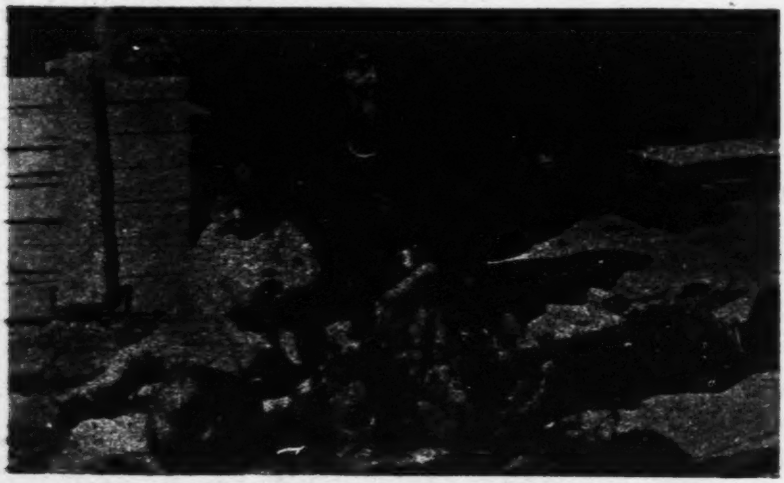

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

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[4] The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 [5] Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

[6] The rites were of major bundle status.

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

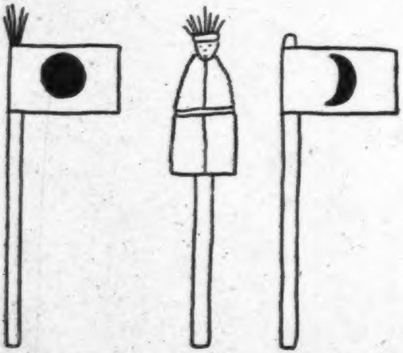

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents 796
and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in 431
which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

> Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted to give the Snake ceremony [secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

The older men and women of the tribe arrived shortly after dark. When it was time for the ceremony to begin, Clam Necklace came into the Okipa lodge with his face painted white except for a red half-circle extending from the cheeks across the forehead. In his hair he wore two bunches of sage, one white and representing the sun, the other black and representing the moon. He carried a robe and the ceremonial bundle, which he laid out on a bench at the back of the lodge. On his way to the back of the lodge, he gave his bundle to Stands Yellow to pray to, and she took one of the robes as payment. His two wives followed him to the back of the lodge.

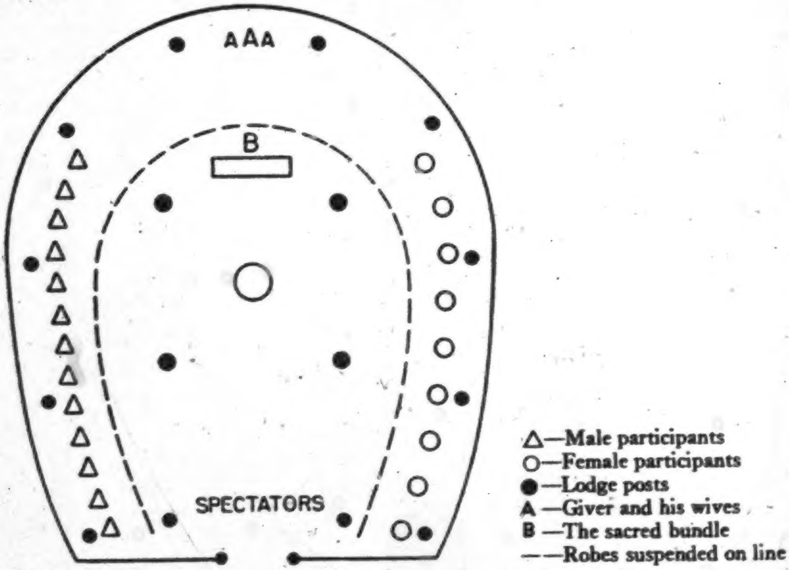

Fig. 42.—Lodge arrangement for People Above ceremony

First he chewed Black Medicine and blew it over himself and his wives; then he opened the bundle and spread the contents out on the robe laid on the bench. Although he took charge of the ceremony, his wives helped him in the singing. He burned pine needles brought from the Rocky Mountains. He sang the medicine songs through as he opened the bundle. As soon as the bundle was opened, the singing stopped. He placed food on the end of a stick and offered it to things in the bundle, after which all the visitors ate food passed around by his wives.

When the food was all eaten, Clam Necklace took a robe down from the roof, placed some object from the bundle on it, and called the name of the person to whom he presented the robe. The receiver of the gift prayed to his personal medicine objects to send good luck to the giver, then returned the medicine object, retaining the gift. When the robes were all given away, horses, dogs, calicoes, knives, moccasins, and dresses were given away. Each person receiving a gift prayed for the success of the giver. Clam Necklace gave presents to twenty-six people, fifteen of whom were women.

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People receiving goods were:

Women

Big Chief Woman
Spring Woman
Lone Woman
Hides and Eats
Stays Yellow
Unborn Calf Woman
Penned Up
Goes Out
Owl Woman
Beaver Woman
Different Corn Silk
Feather on Head Woman
Otter Woman
Eagle Woman
Cedar Woman

Men 431

Wolf Ghost
Crows Breast
Big Foot Bull
Afraid To Be Chief
Red Buffalo Cow
Bull against Wind
Red Shield
Small Ankles
Awaxniax (?)
Belly Up
Broken Ax

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace 796
and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and
put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the 778
Old Woman Above.

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented 778
added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row 764
with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four
images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds
in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of
the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other
mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were
placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull.
When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented
buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting
places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from
the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were [727]
brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls
were not placed in these circles.

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. 778
Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their ene- 727
mies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

> 778 The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

> When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

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172 Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

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[7] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

[8] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

778

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, 172
or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman 796
thought that it was because they did not want their gardens 562
burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn.
(People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When 782
the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths.
Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to 778
the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and 726
their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. 773
They were described as cannibals in all the myths.

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the 778
bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of
the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his 773
wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were 425
represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle.

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it 776
was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information 124
on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died.

During the last century the bundle and its owners have oc- 778
cupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man-

778 dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

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BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

173 The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in.

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[1] *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

[2] Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

[3] This was the Hidatsa method.

Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend; I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

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[4] This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutarka Village.

118 where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several 113 with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

113 There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

113

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

539 She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

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[5] This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.

[6] For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around.

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man."

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and 773 brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

539 She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

796 THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge.

796 778 Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle.

796 There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang:

the one first woman pretty
has eaten most of you

796 773 The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs,

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[1] It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.

[2] Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man
773 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not pos-
425 sible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an
796 individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former,
778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle
561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

796 The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe
778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

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[3] We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern,
177 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the 796
right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young 778
men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and
sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only
one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women
brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat

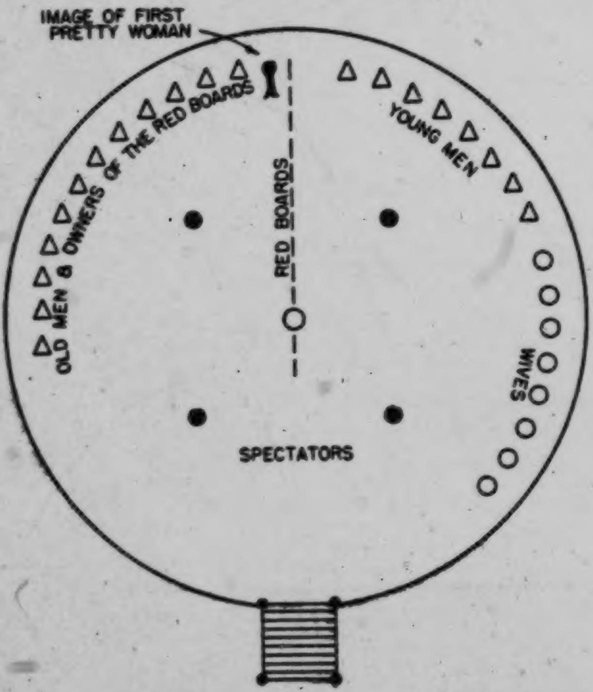
IMAGE OF FIRST PRETTY WOMAN
OLD MEN & OWNERS OF THE RED BOARDS
RED BOARDS
YOUNG MEN
WIVES
SPECTATORS

Fig. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The
woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse [834]
with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo

796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

796 The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I
614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

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[4] This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

[5] This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

[6] Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

[7] Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that 796
the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. 837
However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they 614
could participate.

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the 796
lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time.

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

773 539 young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they

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would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone

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called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

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[8] "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

[9] This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

Chapter XV

THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY[1]

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THE two highest of the four women's age-grade societies, the White Buffalo Cow and Goose societies, were religious in character. The Goose Society[2] was organized, according to tradition, by Good Furred Robe to dance during the Corn ceremonies. During the time women were performing the ceremony, they would dream of corn or the supernatural beings associated with corn so that, when the time came to sell the society to younger women and buy into the next age-grade society, most women had minor rights in the Corn ceremonies and were invited to come to the corn feasts.

When Calf Woman was two years old, she was taken into the White Buffalo Cow Society to represent the buffalo calf. As a young woman she bought into the Goose Society. After selling out to younger women, she always attended and danced with the society. There was not the entire relinquishment of rights in the two highest Mandan women's societies so characteristic of the men's societies and the lower women's societies. Both Scattercorn and Calf Woman were in agreement that this was due to their religious character. The Goose Society was associated with the spring and fall migration of the birds and the summer Corn ceremonies. The White Buffalo Cow Society was associated with the winter migration of the buffalo herds from the flats to the river bottoms. The ceremony was held during the shortest days to bring the winter buffaloes. While the ceremony was in progress, the Black Mouth Society policed the winter village to see that none chopped wood, left the village to hunt, or had their dogs running loose. Announcement was given in advance that

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[1] See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 297; XXIV, 48–49; Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 216–22; Robert H. Lowie, *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1916]), pp. 346–54.

[2] See Boller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–49 and 283.

the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were 561
expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected 796
to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY 773
RELATED BY SCATTERCORN 539

The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had
when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling 561
from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was 561
beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could 561
sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held,
the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat 796
frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 159 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

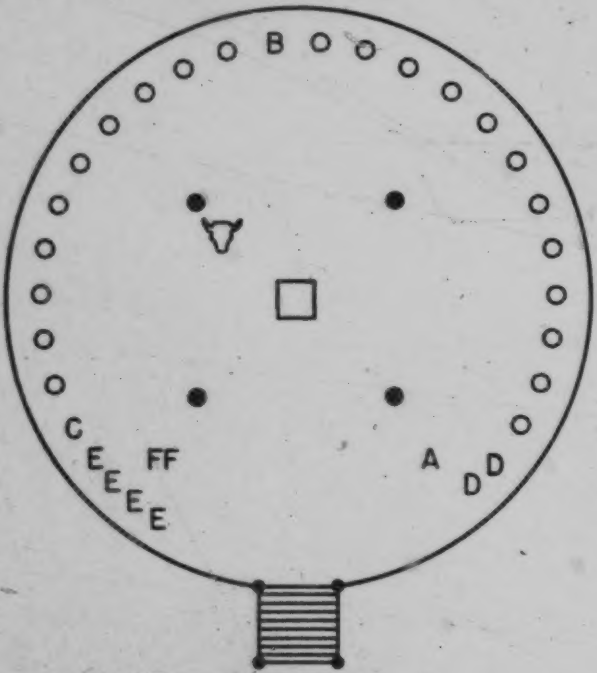
After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 796 159 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe; they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring 561 after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to 796 sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, 159 anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

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[3] See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning 796
rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed 778
that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red 778
stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony. 796

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CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4] 778

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

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[1] See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

[2] This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

[3] See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

[4] Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

796 597 778 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds' heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

796 597 If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 778 597 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

796 597 On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

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[5] See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

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SUMMARY

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Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 773 776 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 785 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other [837] hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

778 quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

785 A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a
778 sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was re-
peated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was es-
tablished.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal
789 bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

789 Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buf-
falo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural
196 "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had
837 "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed
that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was success-
787 ful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

778 The concept of "power" as a substance was further demon-
strated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the
789 buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her 778
own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted
to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. 789
Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold
took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the
breast.

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken 778
by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics
as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites 731
to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies
were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made
no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They
believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their
enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies
been abandoned.

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories.
They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal 778
bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a
more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large
measure set the background for the supernatural experiences
which instituted the personal bundles.

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general
characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body 778
of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those 796
bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in
very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by
Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were
founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies
considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest
number of participants.

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and 778
colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According 796
to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to
the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and 614
repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining 428
to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the
sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies
were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to
become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
796 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna
614 clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die,
a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified.
When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband
was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial
feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected.
[604] The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's
son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few
sales were made in later years, since there were two separate
bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort
Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact,
one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never
re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the
WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a
member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan
at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart
River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the
Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved
to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated
near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own
complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount
of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving
training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man,
whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the
WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle
area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing 796
the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by 793 sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was 173 simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was 241 given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describ- 773 ing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

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[1] Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role 796
in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. 773
First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct
which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the 773
population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, 626
those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between 796
bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism
are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain 778
bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the 773
bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. 796
In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un- 773

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[2] Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth
796 belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions
773 at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan be-
lieved these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes.
The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The
sacred myth enumerated ~~the~~ benefits which would accrue to the
tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were per-
formed.

773 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kin-
ship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Cre-
602 ator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who as-
776 sisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons
of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or
"mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed
him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister
was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grand-
mother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash
groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings pres-
ent on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual
addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belong-
ing to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and
"father's sister" if a female.

778 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of
change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial
425 rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifi-
428 cally from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to
614 the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie
Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son in-
heritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges
were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the as-
sociated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-
son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more
flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately
associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater
flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the
older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The
Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and
gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The
sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, 778
generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having 425
only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been 428
successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision in-
spired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on 778
the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal 425
bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in 869
years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of 778
sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely
inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision 787
from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually 778
fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the 554
guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure.
Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One
having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and
sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal
bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law
offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the
transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold
and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the
Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave
especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at
Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village
group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the
Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations
after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade
organization were simplified to meet the new conditions
of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural
borrowing, since a companion report covering details of
the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process
of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is
little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in
large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited
from earlier times when the population was materially larger.
That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth
of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in
the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural
products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing
by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their
culture.

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APPENDIXES

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Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

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My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

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[1] For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself.

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3]

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.' "

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

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[2] The speckled eagle.

[3] He is addressed here as "the old one."

[4] These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.

[5] For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–48.

[6] Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

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[7] This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there.

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see for himself.

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in

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[8] Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 277–78).

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miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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[9] For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I'data'ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki'numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and die there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

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[10] Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more convenient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers.

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[11] The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him.

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska' Ko'oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska' Ko'oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones.

All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded.

When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled

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[12] For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

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eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red

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[13] This village was destroyed about 1785.

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willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE
RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

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[14] This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to

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come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.'"

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was.

ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

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[15] This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

Appendix II

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NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

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[1] For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

[2] The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

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[3] Eagle-trapping lodge type.

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there were many clam shells. He wrapped it up carefully again and hung it up as before. He suspected then that she was more than a common woman. Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to

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catch up with the boy, the door opened, and he ran in. The women were inside.

They were angry and said to his sister, "We are the ones who told your brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

Appendix III

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AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own, and she made one also for her brother. She had one in particular that had scalps fastened to it. Every time she came home, she would spread her robe out on the floor and put a new scalp on the robe. She would use a small clam shell to fasten the scalp to, and some way the scalp and shell would cling to the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

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he saw his sister coming after him. She was wearing a light feather painted red on her head. She overtook him, and he shot her with an arrow. She lifted her arm to shield her face, and he shot her in the chest. She reached over and pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the lodge.

He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you."

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

223 538 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

773 539 There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

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[1] For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

[2] Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

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[3] Sons of clan brothers.

[4] The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

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[5] "Song of the Snare."

[6] Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

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In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

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[7] Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

773 move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

539 Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father."

Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was 223 about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull.

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. 223 They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four 346 posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced

223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar..

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

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[8] Hidatsa language.

I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there 223
were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from
his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell 796
it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living.

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any 224
one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a
deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throw- 223
ing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a 796
boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe-

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[9] Ceremonial name for the buffalo.

[10] He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

224 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two! They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

[11] A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took 785 796 a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times.

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into 223 796 the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in.

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped 562 his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other.

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on 276 796 the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'.

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 492 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 784 223 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any 346
kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with 784
the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the
Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or 223
west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the 223
new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when
sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a 796
stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this.
He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It [773]
was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

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[12] See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

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796

not even get names when we began trapping. One morning the leader woke us and said, "There is water coming down," so we had to stop trapping. The bodies of the eagles were taken to the east side of the lodge and put on the ground. Then we all went back and ran toward the dead eagles and shot over them and then struck them. The eagles represented our enemies. That was why we had to do that. Then we broke camp and started for home. The birds had been put about two hundred yards from the medicine lodge. We cut the wings off, pulled the light feathers out, and left the bodies there. When we got back to the village the leader collected all the tails and went through a little ceremony to send the spirits of the eagles away. Sometimes they did that in the camp, but when we had to hurry, as in this case, for slush ice was forming in the river, we did it at the village. Sending the spirits away was done by making a feast and paying the leader to put on the sweat-lodge ceremony. He offered prayers to the birds and bears, asking the spirits of the birds to go away. Then he beat on a hide, and each one in the village, especially men, stood by their doors making much noise and pounding on the hide covering of the door. Then he took all those who were out trapping with him into the sweat lodge where they were cleansed by having water sprinkled on them.

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